HUMAN RIGHTS CONSEQUENCES OF THE PROPOSED TRANS-SIBERIAN NATURAL GAS PIPELINE

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND MONETARY POLICY

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS

UNITED STATES SENATE

NINETY-SEVENTH CONGRESS

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ON

POSSIBLE USE OF FORCED LABOR TO BUILD THE YAMAL PIPELINE IN THE SOVIET UNION

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FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1982

U.S. SENATE, COMMITTEE ON BANKING, HOUSING, AND URBAN AFFAIRS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND MONETARY POLICY,

Washington, D.C.

The subcommittee met at 9:35 a.m. in room 5302 of the Dirksen Senate Office Building, Senator William L. Armstrong presiding.

Present: Senators Armstrong and Garn.

Also present: Senator Bob Kasten.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR ARMSTRONG

Senator ARMSTRONG. We are here today to explore a facet of East-West trade and the détente relationship with the Soviet bloc which has received far too little attention from Western governments and from the Western news media.

The International Finance and Monetary Policy Subcommittee, chaired by Senator Heinz, and the parent Committee on Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs, chaired by Senator Garn, have held hearings in the past on East-West trade in general, and the proposed trans-Siberian natural gas pipeline, also known as the Yamal pipeline, in particular. From those hearings we have learned that the overextension of credits to the Soviet bloc has put the stability of the financial structure of the West in jeopardy, and that the Soviet war machine is in large part fueled by Western credits and Western technology.

Today, we will focus on the human rights consequences of détente. In particular, we will explore allegations the Soviet Union plans to make massive use of forced labor—what, for all practical purposes, is slave labor—in the construction of the trans-Siberian pipeline.

Specifically, we will investigate reports the Soviet Union plans to import up to 500,000 Vietnamese to work on the pipeline and other projects in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. According to these reports, confirmed in part by both the Soviet and Vietnamese Governments, Vietnamese labor will be used as partial repayment for the assistance the Soviet Union provided to the Communist government of Vietnam in its conquests of South Vietnam and Cambodia. It is further reported that the vast majority of the laborers will come from the so-called "re-education" camps in what used to be

South Vietnam and many, if not most, are being sent against their will.

We shall also look into reports circulating in the Soviet emigre community here and in Europe that the heavy, dirty, dangerous jobs involved in building the pipeline—clearing swamps, cutting timber, building roads, and shelters in the frozen wasteland—will be performed by inmates of the Gulag Archipelago, that macabre network of more than 2,000 prisons and forced labor camps spread throughout the Soviet Union. Estimates of the population of the Gulag today range from a low of 4 million to more than 17 million.

An examination of the moral, as well as the economic and strategic consequences of East-West trade is, in my opinion, long overdue.

In the spring of 1944, two prisoners escaped from Auschwitz and, for the first time, revealed to the world the horrors of the Nazi extermination camps.

The escaped prisoners pleaded: "You, our brothers in all free countries, and you, governments of all free lands, where are you? What are you doing to hinder this carnage that is going on?"

The answer, to our everlasting sorrow and shame, was not much. The Jews had asked the Allies to bomb the gas chambers and crematoria at Auschwitz, and the rail lines leading to the death camp itself. But the Allies refused, and nearly 4 million people who might otherwise have been saved perished.

Today, cries similar to those from the Jews of Auschwitz are rising from the barbed wire confines of forced labor camps in the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and throughout the Communist empire. There, millions of prisoners are asking again: "You, our brothers in all free countries, and you, governments of all free lands, where are you? What are you doing to hinder this carnage that is going on?"

The answer, again, is not much. In fact, we in the West may be guilty of something far worse than merely turning our backs on the plight of our fellow human beings behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. We may be unwittingly collaborating in their repression.

We have learned from earlier hearings that the Soviet Union could not maintain a war machine of its present size and power without access to Western credits and technology. Now there is mounting evidence—some of which we will hear today—that the Gulag Archipelago itself is a vital component of the Soviet economic system, a system that cannot be maintained without continued access to Western bank loans and Western technology. The Soviet economy is a vampire economy which can live only so long as it feeds off the lifeblood of the capitalist West. Without constant infusions of Western capital and Western goods, the Soviet Union would have either to liberalize, or die.

We entered into the détente relationship with the Soviet Union partly in the hope of increasing understanding and friendship between our two peoples. But a dreadful perversion has taken place. The warm regard most ordinary Russians had for Americans is being eroded as they see us more and more as collaborating with their Communist overlords in repressing them. This perversion of what we had hoped to accomplish through détente is symbolized, for me, by the fact that Vladimir Bukovskiy, the courageous

human rights activist, while imprisoned in a Soviet concentration camp, wore handcuffs that had stencilled upon them: "made in the USA."

There is very little that we in the West can do, in this nuclear armed world, to keep the Communists from abusing their own people. But we need not collaborate in that repression. We need not continue to provide to the Soviets and their satellites the loans and goods that make the present state of repression possible, nor do we have to confer upon them the prestige that comes from treating them as if they were decent and honorable members of the world community.

We in the West have a fundamental choice to make. Do our sympathies lie with the millions of oppressed, yearning to be free? Or will we continue to provide help and succor to their oppressors, whose ultimate goal is to force us as well into their slave empire?

Nowhere does this question come into clearer focus than in the case of the Yamal pipeline. If history is any guide, and if the reports we have been receiving are true, a massive violation of human rights will occur in its construction. But the pipeline simply cannot be built without Western money and Western technology. Does this not make the nations and firms which participate in the pipeline project accomplices of a sort in the human rights violations that will result from its construction? Do the governments of the United States and Western Europe truly wish to give their sanction, albeit indirectly, to what could be the largest slave transaction in history? Is this the image we wish to project to the world?

It is not our purpose today to provide answers to these questions. Rather, the purpose of today's hearing is to begin to lay before the Senate, the country, and the world the gruesome facts that make finding answers to these questions imperative. Let it not be said, as it was said about the Nazi death camps, that we did not know what was happening until it was too late to prevent it.

Senator Garn.

OPENING STATEMENT OF SENATOR GARN

Senator GARN. Thank you very much, Senator Armstrong. During the Carter administration, I began raising concerns over the proposed pipeline that would transmit natural gas from the Soviet Union to our Western European allies. I argued that it would create a dangerous Western European dependence on Soviet energy supplies and increase Soviet leverage in European politics.

I argued that it would unnecessarily and unwisely help the Soviet Union avoid a domestic energy crisis and a resultant reduction in its armament program. I argued that it would provide the Soviets with significant foreign exchange earnings with which they could continue to purchase the technology from the West needed to save their economy from stagnation. Worse still, the economic boost would help promote their advances in all fields of military power.

These warnings were answered by the last administration with indifference. No objections were raised to the European plans, and American companies were given the green light to participate in the project. I continued raising the issue with the new administra-

tion. With 40 of my colleagues in both Houses of the Congress, I addressed a letter to President Reagan urging that his administration take action to stop this dangerous project while it was still possible to do so.

President Reagan responded by making the pipeline a major topic of discussion at the Ottawa Economic Summit. However, those in the administration charged with the responsibility of following up on the President's initiative failed in their responsibilities. Tragic episodes of foot-dragging have occurred. No high level U.S. representatives had even broached the subject again with our European partners until Soviet adversaries were already arriving in the European capitals to sign the agreements that would begin the pipeline's construction. That delay was dangerous and painful.

Just how painful was demonstrated about 30 days later after the first commercial agreements on the pipeline were signed in Bonn. Under Soviet pressures martial law was declared in Poland, and thousands of people were jailed overnight. Many who resisted were beaten and others were killed in their resistance to the Polish military. The Soviets had learned 1 month earlier how eager the Western Europeans were to pretend that detente was still a viable policy, and how reluctant they would be to open their eyes to anything that suggested Stalinism and Soviet imperialism were not dead.

The Soviet calculations do not appear to have been far wrong, 6 months later the Solidarity leaders are still in prison, martial law continues, and the plans for the pipeline still go forward.

Last November, the Senate Banking Committee held an important hearing on the pipeline to discover the source of delay in the U.S. response and to assess what could still be done. At that time, the information began to circulate suggesting a new source of pain and suffering being generated by the pipeline. Soviet plans for the use of slave labor to construct the pipeline were being uncovered. That is the topic of the hearing today.

At the time of the November hearing, I directed a question to each of the administration witnesses on the Vietnamese issue. Assistant Secretary of Commerce Larry Brady agreed that it would not paint a good picture for the West to be involved in the construction of the Soviet pipeline alongside of slave labor. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle called it "an appalling prospect."

I couldn't agree more. There is a great deal about this project that is appalling. A lack of early and sufficiently high level attention from this Government in opposition to the pipeline is appalling. Foot-dragging after the Ottawa Conference is appalling. Stubborn blindness of the Western Europeans on this issue is appalling. It is appalling that the West is lending the money to build the pipeline at cut-rate prices.

I really wonder how the American people feel when they go out and ask for mortgage loans at 16 and 17 percent—if they can get them—while at the same time Western banks are loaning billions of dollars to the Soviet Union at under 10 percent. Perhaps even more so than the atrocious—but very typical—Soviet disregard for human rights, the increased Soviet military buildup that this pipeline will finance is appalling.

For shortsighted financial gains and to perpetuate the bankrupt policy of accommodation with the Soviets, our European allies will be taking major steps that will greatly weaken the security for all of us. When the pipeline is complete, I would ask my colleagues whether it would be easier or more difficult to protect Germans, French, English—and Americans—from the fate that the Polish and Vietnamese dissenters may soon be facing in Siberia.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Senator Garn. Your leadership on this issue over a long period of time is really an example to all of us. This is the kind of an issue which simply slips beneath the public consciousness unless someone is willing to raise it and raise it and raise it. It would be a blemish on the reputation of our country and on the Senate if we were to let this issue go by the boards without making the kinds of decisions that are needed to be made. We congratulate you for your leadership. Senator Kasten.

STATEMENT OF SENATOR BOB KASTEN

Senator KASTEN. First of all, Mr. Chairman, thank you for giving me the opportunity to participate in these hearings. As you know, I have a longstanding interest in the whole issue of Western credits to the Soviet bloc, and if one thing has become clear over the past few months it is that policies pursued by the West have helped to finance the Soviet military buildup and facilitated their repressive internal policies.

Western financing of the Yamal pipeline represents a totally unacceptable extension of these same bankrupt policies. I think we need no more evidence of the one-sided nature of détente. The Soviet Union has clearly benefited, using its Eastern European allies as a conduit for Western goods and Western technology, and essentially forcing those countries to absorb the hard currency debts that the Soviets would otherwise be forced to pick up.

The Soviet gross national product is only 60 percent as large as that of the United States, but their investment in arms has exceeded ours by 80 to 90 percent during the last 5 years. It is no coincidence that this military buildup occurred during the period when the West supplied an estimated $80 billion in credits to the Soviet bloc.

Has the West gained anything in return? Has the Soviet Union modified their policies of international aggression and internal repression? I believe the answer is an emphatic no.

The fundamental question is whether the West will continue to finance a political system that seeks to destroy the very principles of human freedom and dignity that we hold so dear.

Mr. Chairman, I must admit that I am bewildered by our allies' apparent lack of concern for the obvious consequences of the Yamal project. I deeply regret that President Reagan was unable to elicit more support for his policies at the European summit last week. I don't understand how, only 2½ years after the brutal invasion of Afghanistan, only 6 months after the blatant repression of the Polish people, our allies can rush headlong to finance a pipeline that will increase their dependence on Soviet-supplied energy sources.

Mr. Chairman, I want to commend you for holding these hearings. The testimony that we are going to hear today is crucial to our understanding of the Soviet political system that we confront, and it is crucial to our understanding of the consequences and the costs in human suffering of continuing to subsidize a morally and economically bankrupt political system.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Senator Kasten, and thank you for taking the lead on the question of extending credits to the Eastern bloc countries. Your statement this morning is one that characterizes in very blunt terms the kind of society that we confront on the other side of the Iron Curtain, and I think while your words are blunt they are an accurate characterization.

Yesterday, the President in New York reminded the world that the Soviet Union is guilty of tyranny, aggression, atrocities, and ruthless repression, and just as your statement emphasized these concerns and the President did yesterday, I believe that that will be what we will learn from the testimony being presented to this committee this morning.

Our first witness is Mikhail Makarenko, a Russian human rights activist who was sentenced to 8 years in forced labor camps following his arrest in 1968 for putting on an art show which offended Soviet authorities. While in the camps, Mr. Makarenko instituted among the inmates a memorial service, which is still being observed in camps throughout the Gulag Archipelago. The service, held in secret on September 5 each year, is in memory of the victims of the Red Terror. It was on September 5, 1918 that Lenin issued the decree establishing the forced labor camps.

Following his release from the camps, Mr. Makarenko and other dissidents made a pilgrimage to the site of the White Sea Canal, the Yamal pipeline project of the Stalin era, to recover the bones of some of the more than one-quarter of a million prisoners who died during its construction. Their purpose was to hold a memorial service for the victims and then bury the bones beneath the Kremlin Wall. One of their number was a KGB informant equipped with a movie camera to photograph those taking part. The informant was discovered, the camera taken from him and used by Mr. Makarenko to make a film of the memorial service which he was able to smuggle to the West when he was permitted to leave the Soviet Union in 1978.

For those of the committee and others who may be interested, I have arranged for a screening of this film, which runs about 20 minutes, in the Senate recording studio between 12:30 and 1 o'clock today for committee members, the media, and other interested persons who may wish to view it.

Mr. Makarenko presently resides in Munich, where he is the chairman of the Society for the Research of Problems of Culture and Man Under Totalitarianism. Mr. Makarenko, the committee is delighted to welcome you and your interpreter, and we would be pleased to hear your prepared statement at this time.

STATEMENT OF MIKHAIL MAKARENKO, HYATTSVILLE, MD.

Mr. MAKARENKO. Gentlemen, Senators, ladies and gentlemen——

Senator ARMSTRONG. May I ask you to speak directly into the microphone. If you just pull it closer to you, so that everyone can hear you well.

Mr. MAKARENKO. I received an invitation to be here today from Senator Heinz. Senator Heinz proposed several issues of moral nature. This is why I changed the plan of my testimony, and I will be extremely brief as far as specific facts are concerned.

Gentlemen, Senators, 10 months after the Soviet Government came to power it had signed a decree about the Red Terror. [Indicating documents.]

CONCENTRATION CAMPS

It was the first time in history that concentration camps have been made law in the county—in a country—not only mass terror against their own citizens, but collective responsibility as well.

It states there that if attempt is being made only on three leaders of the Red Terror, masses will have to bear the responsibility for it.

I believe that only two events determine the entire face of the 20th century, namely the decree of the 5th of September, which made mass terror a law—perfectly lawful—and covered the face of the Earth with mass camps, and that counter-action the Russian people have been trying to put up for 60 years—and all the people who are against this Communist regime and all the nations which are not making it possible for the regime to expand.

You see, gentlemen, this map, which is truly horrifying—I regret that one could not indicate with special color camps which are intended for children, starting with age of 11; 11-year-old children are deprived of their freedom nowadays in the Soviet Union.

The aim of having these camps in the Soviet Union by the Soviet regime is not only to have free labor by slaves. The first and foremost aim is to completely do away with those who think differently, who keep growing with every year.

Official statistics shows that during the year of great terror under Stalin, basically the young people were subjected to annihilation from the age of 14 to the age of 24. They were done away with, annihilated by forced labor. The same is taking place now.

The voluminous written material that I am presenting to the subcommittee of the Senate points to the fact that the efforts of the regime are directed at the young people, the young people who are more sincere, due to their age, and do not accept this regime.

But I would like to say a few words as regards this map. The thing is that this map is really very incomplete.

It was just by chance that in an envelope which I received from the representative of the Ministry of Internal Affairs there was an unnecessary piece of paper that was in the envelope, which is usually, in the Soviet Union, placed under the top part of the envelope so that the glue wouldn't go through onto the letter.

This is the little piece of paper. [Indicating.]

It pertains to the Vladimir District, or Oblast, in the Soviet Union.

According to this map, there are only two camps and three prisons in the Vladimir Oblast. However, on this piece of paper, which

is the copy of some official document, we see at least a list of—a list of at least 15 camps and prisons.

As you see, the list does not end here. This is just a segment from the middle of the piece of paper.

As you can see, gentlemen, I conducted an experiment. I sent letters to all the camps which are indicated here, and I received replies from the heads of these camps. In that manner, I have determined the fact that in the Vladimir Oblast there are at least 15 such camps and prisons—in other words, three times as many as indicated on this map.

I also would like to draw your attention to the fact that the city of Vladimir is about 100 kilometers from Moscow. It is a place from which we are obtaining most of our information, and we now know that there are at least three times as many camps and prisons as indicated on this map.

Maybe human brains simply cannot perceive the horror of this situation, but those are the facts that we're facing today and we should take them into consideration.

Senator ARMSTRONG. I am very reluctant to interrupt your testimony, Mr. Makarenko, but my colleagues and I must excuse ourselves for approximately 10 minutes to go to the floor of the Senate and vote.

So, this hearing will recess for about 10 or 12 minutes, and then we will return and pick up at exactly this point.

[Recess.]

Senator ARMSTRONG. The committee will come to order.

Again, with my apologies to the witnesses for being forced to suspend—that may occur again later this morning. The Senate is considering a controversial item of legislation on the floor, and so it may happen that the bells will again ring and summon us to attend the floor proceedings. But we will try to minimize those interruptions to the largest extent we can.

Mr. Makarenko, my apologies for interrupting your statement. Please continue, if you would.

MILLIONS DEPRIVED OF FREEDOM

Mr. MAKARENKO. Ladies and gentlemen, I would like to draw your attention to an event which went by without being noticed in the West. When Brezhnev took the reins of power, the number of people who have no right to vote kept increasing during the period of 13 years, by approximately half a million every year.

People who are not able to vote are those who are deprived of their freedom and are prisoners. That is indirect proof of the fact that after Khrushchev the camps started growing and more of them were around. I was witnessing that myself when I was one of the inmates.

Our small camp, consisting of 250 people, built a large camp for 1,500 inmates. Then, we were evacuated to the Urals, into a very small camp, which we enlarged and built. After that we started building another camp for 250 to 300 persons not far from our camp. As you see, two small camps were transformed into a place for 2,000.

Therefore, I'm not surprised by the statistics which I was able to put together that it is not surprising that after Khrushchev there were about 3 million people in the camps by 1975—in 13 years, that is—the number of people grew to a figure of 9½ million people in the camps.

When we extrapolated the tempos, the rate of growth, we find—I was able to figure out that they comprise about 12,230,000 people.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that those are only those who are behind barbed wire. It took me a long time to weigh the two facts which I received in the camp and in the prison. A retired colonel, who was a member of the Statistical Bureau, informed me that there are 9,600,000 beds in the camps. When I subjected this to doubt, he explained to me that this comprises only one-half of people who are deprived of their freedom because half of those who are being repressed live either at home or are not behind barbed wire.

I was surprised when I encountered a former student of the school of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He mentioned the same figure, of approximately 17 million people inside camps and outside of camps. I would like to note that these people are needed by the regime only for one purpose. The regime is really having a very hard time because they don't have enough workers. Ordinary Soviet workers are constantly expressing their protest against the regime insofar as they escape from work, they flee, they strike by means of their feet, constantly changing jobs.

Among the documents which I am presenting to this subcommittee, there are statements that the number of people who are striking in this manner reache to 20 million people every year. They are depriving the Soviet Union every year of about 500 million workdays.

I would like to draw your attention to the fact that during the 10-year period from 1963 to 1973 in the United States, when there were most strikes in the country, industry lost only 390,000 workdays. In other words, the Soviet workers, by not what is called "striking" in the West, are depriving the Soviet regime of a number of workdays which would equal 13 years in a row in the circumstances of the United States.

And I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in all large major and minor construction projects there are prisoners working there, and these prisons and camps are not places where people are sitting and reading books and waiting for the term to expire. These are factories—that is their industry. Everything from space installations to the potatoes that are grown in the Soviet Union, all that is accomplished by the hands of the prisoners.

I would like to draw the attention of the members of the subcommittee to the documents which I am presenting herewith—only on two issues. These people are supposed to fulfill a norm, just like anyone who is not in prison in the Soviet Union.

They are receiving food like that which was given to those working in the Auschwitz camps by the Nazis.

As long as I would refuse to work for the Communists for a period of longer than half of the term I was supposed to serve, I was receiving about 50 percent of what the prisoners were getting

in Buchenwald and Auschwitz since I refused to work most of the time.

DEATH RATE IN CAMPS

The second element I would like to draw your attention to is the death rate in the camps, not only from lack of proper food or lack of safety in work, but because they are very poorly dressed. This is their clothing, that you see there on the rack, in the summer and in the wintertime. This is the main way in which this regime annihilates this people.

If you compare this great construction of the White Sea Canal, which was taking place in the 1930's, and—in the middle you see the construction—a major project BAM, Baikal-Amur Railroad, you will see the same stretches there as 60 years ago, and you will see that there is no place for these people to live, and these are considered free people.

These pictures are the best pictures made by Soviet propagandists, because this is the best that they can show.

Can you imagine what the prisoners suffer when they are supposed to work in this type of clothing in temperature of 50 degrees centigrade, frost.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Specifically in this kind of uniform?

Mr. MAKARENKO. Precisely. Specifically in this type of uniform.

Sixty years ago they could have felt footwear and warmer coats, and now they don't have any of this.

I would like to you to look at my shirt that is hanging there. Note the letters which were shown to you from the directors of camps.

I asked them this question: "Is it possible to have warm underwear in a camp?"

Each camp head replied: "By no means."

Maybe that will explain to you why I kept repairing my old shirt, in order to wear it as long as possible for a period of 8 years, because when I started my term in the camp, warm shirts were still permitted and I had the right to wear it until it fell apart. If I had to throw it away I would have had to wear very light underwear.

In each letter there, you will find that these prison camp directors insist that the underwear must not be warm underwear. In other words, we are talking about mass annihilation of people by means of forced labor. This is supported by Soviet statistics which I am presenting here in this documentation.

When Mr. Brezhnev came to power, the Soviet Union started losing about half a million of young men a year, which was above the usual death rate. These constructions cost us half a million 25-year-olds every year.

[Copy of material received for the record from Mr. Makarenko follows:]

PRESS MATERIAL ON
MIKHAIL MAKARENKO

January 3, 1968	The Times
April 13, 1968	The Washington Post
April 14, 1968	The New York Times
April 13-14, 1968	International Herald Times
September 8, 1970	The Times
September 9, 1970	Le Monde
Translation	
October 14, 1970	The Washington Post
October 14, 1970	Le Monde
Translation	
July 10, 1974	Zeit Bild
Translation	
November, 1975	Amnesty International Report
April 8-9, 1978	Suddeutsche Zeitung
April 12, 1978	Suddeutsche Zeitung
Translation	
September 5, 1978	International Herald Tribune
September 5, 1978	Suddeutsche Zeitung
September 5, 1978	The Washington Post
September 5, 1978	German Wire Service
Translation	
September 7, 1978	Die Presse
Translation	
October, 1978	Suddeutsche Zeitung
Translation	

December 14, 1978	Der Report
September 5, 1978	Zeit Bild
March 12, 1980	Zeit Bild
Translation	
April 9, 1980	Zeit Bild
November, 1979	Haaretz
	"Mikhail Makarenko and the Tomb of the Unknown Prisoner."
May 14, 1980	Die Presse
Translation	
June 3, 1980	Diese Woche
Translation	
June 3, 1980	Suddeutsche Zeitung
Translation	
July 28, 1980	Sudwest Presse
July 29, 1980	Sudwest Presse
Translation	
July 29, 1980	Kolnifiche Rundfchau
July 30, 1980	Kolner Gtadt-Unzeiger
July 31, 1980	Aachener Nachrichten
August, 1980	Zikah
Translation	
August 4, 1980	Berliner Morgenpost
September 5, 1980	Munchner Merkur
September 5, 1980	e Welt
September 8, 1980	e Welt
December 13, 1981	Russian Daily Emigre Newspaper

March 20, 1982	United Press International
March 21, 1982	The Register
March 21, 1982	The Independent
March 21, 1982	Enterprise Sun and News
March 21, 1982	Herald American
March 24, 1982	Russian Emigre Daily Newspaper
March 27, 1982	Human Events
March 30, 1982	Scripps League Newspapers
March 31, 1982	Scripps League Newspapers
May 19, 1982	The Washington Times
May 24, 1982	The New York Times
May 25, 1982	Congressional Record
June 5, 1982	Human Events
June 9, 1982	Russian Emigre Daily Newspaper

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MIKHAIL MAKARENKO
FORMER SOVIET POLITICAL PRISONER

MICHAIL MAKARENKO

WESTERN PRESS

1968-1982

THE TIMES
January 3, 1968

KYRIL TIDMARSH

Russia's art patrons rediscover Chagall

MOSCOW, JAN. 2

The first full-scale exhibition in this country of the émigré painter Marc Chagall is expected to open soon in Novosibirsk. One of his sketches was recently displayed in Moscow and individual canvases have been exhibited in some provincial galleries, but there has not been a representative exhibition here of this nostalgic symbolist's work since Stalin initiated the great social and intellectual upheaval in the late 1920s. Many of his paintings are, however, either preserved under lock and key or else tucked away in private collections.

The exhibition now planned is to take place in Akademgorodok, the "Academic City" of the Siberian branch of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, and the fact that it is esentially the natural scientists who are holding the show for themselves is indicative of the scientist's special role in the artistic life of this country. While there appears to be little sign of a change in the official policy on abstract and modern painting, with the work of many of Russia's best known painters still hidden from the general public, semi-private exhibitions are being organized for a small section of the population, more often than not for the scientists.

At a recent press conference Mrs. Furtseva, the Minister of Culture, described Chagall, Malevich, and Kandinsky as "magnificent artists" whose work has been lent by Russia to a Paris exhibition. "Some of them are great masterpieces", she said, clearly implying that her Government was proud to have them represent this country in foreign art galleries.

But it was equally clear that the abstract and expressionist work worthy of representing the Soviet Union abroad would not be given a wide showing here. The Soviet Union, she said, has 10,000 painters, each of whom would like to be exhibited, but there was not enough room to let them all have their own show. The majority would be displeased, she explained, if Chagall, Malevich or Kandinsky were singled out for such special treatment.

THE TIMES

...Nevertheless, . . little-publicized exhibitions are being held. . . The Institute of Advanced Physics in Moscow has held a show devoted to Russian art in the 1920s and 1930s, including works by artists like Falk. Even as the Minister of Culture was speaking

> here follows the description of Mr. Makarenko's activity with the Siberian art gallery...

the Academy of Sciences marked the fiftieth anniversary of the Soviet regime with an exhibition of 80 paintings by Pavel Filonov, one of this country's most important modern painters who rejected realism as "anachronistic scholasticism". His paintings have not been exhibited here for 35 years and he has never had his own show in this country. Before Filonov there were exhibitions at the Academy devoted to the abstract constructivists Lissitsky and Falk and the dadaist Shemiakin.

Why these double standards?

The official point of view on this was expressed at the beginning of the year by the critic Michael Lifshits when he argued that philosophically and aesthetically modernism was reactionary because it rejected the artist's "responsibility to society". The modernists' apparent link with the irrational and the intuitive is held to open the way to a cult of force, to "voluntarism", and consequently to fascism.

The remarkable catalogue to the Siberian exhibition of Filonov reproduces the ideological theory of this artist who died of hunger in 1941, officially rejected in his own country. "The artist cannot follow any previously known form," he wrote, "The artist has to invent it anew every second."

He rejects realism as a "routine", as a "ritual", as "scholasticism, which atrophies intuition, analysis and personal initiative". Realism, he thought, was an artificial emphasis on only two aspects of an object—its form and its colour. He discarded absolutely any kind of doctrines or *isms* in art, including those of other non-representational artists. The basis of his art was the study of the individual, his intellectual and bio-organic qualities. Russian art, he believed, was always disciplined by some school or other. It was at first "inoculated" with Byzantinism. Then there was the routine of the nineteenth century subject painters with their social messages and the same "scholasticism" marked the "world of art" school.

It is not difficult to understand the post-revolutionary apprehension lest this kind of artistic revolt against accepted canons might lead to similar acts of defiance in fields closer to politics.

As a writer remarked in the Moscow Literary Gazette, "orthodox rationalism leads to an insurmountable conflict with contemporary reality and its historical expression—modern art". The

reason, he said, was that there is no such thing as one reason common to all time. "At times of historical crisis reason faces a state of crisis and begins to yearn for paradox, the grotesque and the absurd."

If modern art turns its back on strict reason there are causes for this: it seems that in life itself logical correctness has become lifeless.

But beyond all this philosophy there also, perhaps, lies the fact that the scientists simply have to be given more latitude to pursue their work. What "magnificent artists" they may exhibit in their spare time beyond the gates of academic cities and institutes of physics is of little concern to the cultural authorities so long as Soviet science prospers.

It is thus that a whole world of experimental art is coming to life here again. The rebel painters shook the artistic establishment in 1914 and were honoured for a few brief years after the Revolution. Marc Chagall was a commissar for art. Tatlin and Malevitch suddenly became cultural leaders. Filonov was charged with reorganizing the St. Petersburg Institute of Fine Arts. But then suddenly the revolution turned on these artists and they were forced to flee or to go underground during the years of Stalinism. Now it seems they are being allowed to surface.

The Washington Post

Apr. I3, I968 A - 9

Soviets Cancel Chagall Show

MOSCOW, April 12 (UPI) — An exhibition of the works of emigre painter Marc Chagall has been canceled, informed sources said today.

The Chagall show was planned for May 12 in ~~Akademgorod, the city re-~~ cently built in Novosibirsk, Siberia, for the Academy of Sciences.

Mikhail Makarenko, director of Akademgorod's art gallery, has been removed from his job, the sources said, presumably because he had published a catalogue of the exhibition without authorization.

[Last year an exhibition of Chagall's works was closed down two hours after it opened. It was the first display of the artists's paintings in his homeland since the Stalin era.]

The New York Times

Apr. I4, I968, p. I8

SOVIET SAID TO BAN CHAGALL EXHIBITION

MOSCOW, April 13 (UPI)—An exhibition of the works of Marc Chagall has been canceled and measures have been taken against several dissident intellectuals in a mounting Communist campaign for ideological conformism, according to informed sources.

The Chagall show was to have opened May 12 in Akademgorodok, a city built recently as a suburb of Novosibirsk, Siberia, for the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

Chagall was reported to have lent some of his paintings to the exhibition and to have promised to attend its opening.

Mikhail Makarenko, director of Akademgorodok's art gallery, has been removed from his job, the sources said, presumably because he had published a catalogue of the exhibition without authorization.

Chagall was born in Russia in 1889, but except for the period of 1914 to 1922, has spent his adult life abroad, mostly in France and the United States.

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune
Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post
PARIS, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, APRIL 13-14, 1968

As Moscow Punishes Dissidents

Chagall Exhibition in Siberia Said to Have Been Canceled

MOSCOW, April 12 (UPI).—A planned exhibition of the works of émigré painter Marc Chagall has been canceled and measures have been taken against several dissident intellectuals in a mounting Communist campaign to insure ideological conformity, sources said today.

The Chagall show was planned for May 12 in Akademgorod, the scientific center recently built in Novosibirsk, Siberia, for the Academy of Sciences.

Mr. Chagall was reported to have lent some of his paintings to the exhibition and had promised to attend its opening in person.

But Mikhail Makarenko, director of Akademgorod's art gallery, has been removed from his job, the sources said, presumably because he had published a catalo of the exhibition without authorization, and the show has been banned.

Party Expulsion

At the same time it was officially reported that at least one painter, B. Birger, had been expelled from the Communist party for signing a petition protesting the January trial of four dissidents who were found guilty of association with the National Union of Russian Solidarists, an anti-Soviet émigré organization based in West Germany.

Other painters were reprimanded, the cancellation of their party cards was suggested, and the Moscow branch of the Painter's Union recommended that all those who signed protest documents be expelled from their professional societies.

THE TIMES
New Printing House Square, London, WC1X 8EZ. Telephone : 01-837 1234

8 septembre 1970

Intellectual on trial

Moscow, Sept. 7.—Mr. Mikhail Makarenko, former executive of a literary club at Akademgorodok, the Siberian science capital, went on trial today on charges of anti-Soviet activities.

Mr. Makarenko, aged 45, was arrested in Moscow last September after having been dismissed from his post for receiving in his club several artists and poets criticized by authorities.

His friends say Akademogorodok intellectuals showed such interest in his club that he sought to expand its activities by inviting foreign intellectuals and artists. Correspondence was exchanged through "illegal channels" and this might have been the reason for his arrest.—Agence France Presse.

Page 10 — LE MONDE — 9 septembre 1970 . .

PAYS DE L'EST

L'ANIMATEUR D'UN CLUB DE LA CITÉ SIBÉRIENNE DES SAVANTS JUGÉ POUR «ACTIVITÉS ANTISOVIÉTIQUES»

Moscou *(A.F.P.)*. — Le procès de M. Mikhail Yannovitch Makarenko, directeur d'un club littéraire d'Akademgorodok, en Sibérie, poursuivi pour « *activités antisoviétiques* », s'est ouvert lundi devant le tribunal de la ville de Moscou.

Agé de quarante-cinq ans, M. Makarenko fut arrêté à Moscou au mois de septembre 1969, après avoir été démis de ses fonctions d'animateur de l'un des clubs littéraires de la cité scientifique.

M. Makarenko recevait de nombreux artistes et poètes qui avaient fait l'objet de critiques de la part des autorités. Il exposa notamment dans les locaux de son club les œuvres des peintres non conformistes Falk, Keisbort et Rabine, tandis que les poètes et chansonniers Vissotski et Galitch lisaient et chantaient leurs œuvres dans un café dépendant du club. L'intérêt que portaient les intellectuels d'Akademgorodok au club conduisit M. Makarenko à développer ses activtés et à faire venir des intellectuels de l'étranger.

Il écrivit notamment au peintre Chagall pour qu'il vienne organiser une exposition de ses œuvres dans les locaux du club. Chagall lui répondit favorablement. Cette correspondance échangée par des « *moyens illégaux* » serait peut-être à l'origine de son arrestation, estiment ses amis.

[Le café l'Intégrale fut fermé il y a un an en raison d'affiches murales contestées par les autorités. Récemment, le quotidien « Sovietskaïa Rossia » attaquait vivement les savants d'Akademgorodok, qui vivent sans contact avec les masses, ont tendance à surestimer leur rôle dans la société et à ignorer les préceptes du parti (« le Monde » du 1er septembre).]

Le Monde

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Translation (French)

Washington, D.C. 20540

Le Monde, September 9, 1970

EAST BLOC COUNTRIES

A Club Animator in a Siberian City of
Scientists Sentenced for "Anti-Soviet Activites"

Moscow (A.F.P.) - The trial of Mr. Michael Yannovitch Makarenko, director of a literary club in Akademgorodok, Siberia and accused of "anti-Soviet activites," began on Monday at a Moscow tribunal.

Forty-five years old, Mr. Makarenko was arrested in Moscow in September 1969, after having been removed from his job as animator of a literary club in the science city.

Mr. Makarenko used to welcome numerous artists and poets subject to criticism of the authorities. He exhibited the works of non-conformist painters such as Falk, Keisbrot, Rabine on the premises of his club whereas poets and song-writers Vissotski and Galitch read and sang their works in a cafe belonging to the club. The interest that the intellectuals of Akademgorodok had in Makarenko's club induced Mr. Makarenko to develop his activities and to invite intellectuals from abroad.

He namely wrote to painter Chagall, asking him to come and organize an exhibition of his works on the club premises. Chagall sent him a positive reply. This correspondence exchanged by "illegal means" could have been at the origin of his arrest, his friends think.

(The Cafe Integral was closed a year back because of a mural poster disapproved by the authorities. Recently, the daily "Soviestskaia Rossia" vigorously attacked the scientists in Akademgorodok who live without contact with the masses, have the tendency to over-estimate their role in society and to ignore the precepts of the Party (see Le Monde, September 1, 1970).

The Washington Post

Soviet Trial

MOSCOW—The former director of an art gallery in the Siberian science center of Akademgorodok has been jailed for eight years after being tried for speculation, the Communist Party newspaper Pravda reported.

Dissident circles here said Mikhail Makarenko was also tried for anti-Soviet agitation and giving bribes by the Moscow city court last month.

Pravda suggested that Makarenko's main crime had been to buy up old works of art cheaply and touch them up to sell them dearly.

According to the dissident sources, Makarenko was accused of distributing copies of a letter to an international meeting of Communist parties in Budapest asking admittance for representatives of "nonparty workers struggling for the restoration of socialsim."

ÉDITION INTERNATIONALE

Le Monde

SÉLECTION HEBDOMADAIRE

Page 2 — LE MONDE — 14 octobre 1970 • •

EUROPE

Union soviétique

L'ancien directeur d'un club littéraire d'Akademgorodok a été condamné à huit ans de prison

De notre correspondant

Moscou. — La *Pravda* annonce mardi matin que M. Michel Yannovitch Makarenko, ancien directeur d'un club littéraire et artistique d'Akademgorodok, vient d'être condamné à huit ans de prison par le tribunal de la ville de Moscou. Son arrestation et l'ouverture du procès avaient été signalées il y a un peu plus d'un mois (*le Monde* du 9 septembre) en même temps que les motifs de l'inculpation. M. Makarenko était accusé d'« *activités antisoviétiques* ». Il lui était vraisemblablement reproché d'avoir des relations étroites avec divers artistes et poètes dont les œuvres n'étaient pas du goût des autorités soviétiques. Ses amis estimaient, en outre, qu'une correspondance échangée par des « *moyens illégaux* » avec le peintre Chagall pouvait être à l'origine de son arrestation.

La *Pravda* reproche à diverses radios étrangères d'avoir voulu présenter M. Makarenko comme un défenseur des artistes et des poètes, et s'efforce de le décrire au contraire comme un « *escroc* », un « *filou* », un « *faussaire* » et un « *spéculateur* ». L'auteur de l'article s'appuie sur un dossier de police et cite longuement certains passages de l'interrogatoire de l'inculpé par les enquêteurs. Selon cette version, M. Makarenko aurait commencé dès sa jeunesse à tricher aux examens, pour fabriquer ensuite de faux tableaux et se livrer enfin à des opérations financières irrégulières avec des étrangers. Le personnage étant ainsi décrit, la *Pravda* en profite pour discréditer aussi ceux qui ont pris sa défense et parle d'un « *groupe de bons à rien qui s'était rassemblé autour du tribunal de Moscou où se déroulait le procès* ».

Tout en essayant de présenter M. Makarenko comme un criminel de droit commun, le journal mentionne les « *pamphlets antisoviétiques* » dont il aurait été l'auteur, ce qui laisse penser, en dépit du dossier de police ainsi complaisamment étalé, que le procès n'était pas dénué de caractère politique. — A. J.

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Washington, D.C. 20540

Translation (French)

Soviet Union

Former Literary Club Director in Akademgorodok sentenced to eight years in Prison

From our own correspondent

Moscow. Pravda announced on Tuesday morning that Michael Yvanovitch Makarenko, former director of a literary club of Akademgorodok, has just sentenced to eight years in prison by a Moscow tribunal. His arrest and the beginning of the trial were announced a little more than a month ago (Le Monde, September 9) at the same time as the reasons for his indictment. Mr. Makarenko was accused of "anti-Soviet activities." It is likely that he was accused of a close relationship with various artists and poets whose works are not appreciated by the Soviet authorities. His friends thought, in addition, that letters exchanged through "illegal means"with painter Chagall could have been at the origin of his arrest.

Pravda has reproached various foreign radio stations with having presented Mr. Makarenko as a defender of artists and poets and is making an effort to describe him, on the contrary, as a "swindler, crook falsifier and a speculator." The author of the article relies on a police report and cites at length some passages of the interrogation of the accused by the investigators. According to this version, Mr. Makarenko had begun to cheat in his examinations as a youngster, then continued to produce fake paintings and to indulge in irregular financial operations with foreigners. After describing him in this way, Pravda uses this description to descredit all thos who have taken up his defense and speaks of a group of holligans assembled in front of the Moscow tribunal where his trial was in progress." While trying to present Mr. Makarenko as a common criminal, the newspaper metnions the "anti-Soviet pamphlets" of his authorship, which allows one to think, that despite the police file so complacently exposed, the trial was not without political overtones.

3000 Bern 6

ZEITBILD

Erscheint alle zwei Wochen
Bern, den 10. Juli 1974
15. Jahrgang Nr. 14

UdSSR 1968: vorweg

Vor der CSSR normalisierte die Sowjetführung 1968 das eigene Land. Das Schicksal einer Bildergalerie in Akademgorodok illustriert den Vorgang (Seite 2).

In einem Institut von Akademgorodok (Bild: «Sowjetunion heute», Moskau)

Galerie in Sibirien

Ein Samisdat-Autor berichtet vom Aufkommen und vom Abwürgen eines kulturellen Experiments in der Sowjetunion.

Galerie in Sibirien

Der Prager Frühling von 1968 samt seiner Liquidierung hatte im gleichen Jahr einen kleinen, weniger ausgeprägten, aber signifikanten Vorläufer in Sibirien. Kristallisationspunkt der Ereignisse war eine Bildergalerie in der Wissenschaftersiedlung Akademgorodok von Nowosibirsk. Sie war in ihrem universalen, pluralistischen und zeitgenössischen Charakter für die Bevölkerung zu einem Symbol der gesellschaftlichen Emanzipation geworden, und als sie im Zeichen der neostalinistischen Kulturpolitik zwangsgeschlossen wurde, rebellierte ihr Publikum samt der offiziellen Komsomolorganisation. Wir berichten darüber anhand der Lebenserinnerungen des ehemaligen Galericleiters, die im Posser-Verlag (Frankfurt) jetzt (auf russisch) herausgekommen sind.

Als die Sowjetunion am 21. August 1968 die Tschechoslowakei überfiel, machte sie vor aller Welt klar, dass sie in den Satellitenstaaten die geistige Erneuerung und Emanzipation mit Gewalt verhindern werde. Die Okkupation war das sichtbare Zeichen der Wiederherstellung von Ruhe und Ordnung im osteuropäischen Vorfeld der UdSSR.

Weniger offenkundig war es dagegen zunächst, dass die sowjetische Absage an den Prager Frühling zugleich eine Entsprechung und eine Folge der innersowjetischen Absage an den eigenen Reformkurs der unmittelbaren Vergangenheit gewesen ist.

1968: Krise und Repression auch in der UdSSR

In der Tat war gerade das Jahr 1968 auch in der Sowjetunion selbst ein Jahr der Konfrontation, der Krise und der Repression. Bevor die Sowjetführung im Herbst jenes Jahres daran ging, in der CSSR die «Normalisierung» nach ihrer Vorstellung zu bewerkstelligen, normalisierte sie im gleichen Sinne die Lage in der UdSSR selbst. Nur war dieser ausgedehnte Vorgang nicht so konzentriert, nicht so dramatisch und wegen der vorbildlich geschlossenen Gesellschaft lange nicht so evident wie die äussere Abrechnung am tschechoslowakischen Exempel.

Ein Unterschied bestand auch in der direkten zeitlichen Einbettung der Ereignisse. In der Tschechoslowakei hatte die Ablösung einer präzedenzlosen Liberalisierung durch eine brutale Restalinisierung von aussen einen überfallartigen Charakter, was wahrhaftig wörtlich zu verstehen ist. In der Sowjetunion dagegen brachte das ganze Jahr «lediglich» eine zugespitzte, beschleunigte Disziplinierung, die sich im stets dogmatischer werdenden Jargon der Führung und in der Restalinisierung der Prinzipien und der Methoden (ab Prozess Sinjawskij/Daniel im Herbst 1965 demonstrativ geworden) seit gut zwei Jahren angekündigt hatte.

Die Indizien über jene «ruhigen» Jahre 1966 bis 1968, in denen eine zuvor für unvermeidlich gehaltene Evolution rückgängig gemacht wurde, haben sich erst seither allmählich angesammelt. In der Mitte der sechziger Jahre hatten sie noch widerspruchsvoll gewirkt, denn manche reformerischen Bewegungen, denen die Chruschtschowschtschina mehr oder weniger freiwillig ihren Anstoss gegeben hatte, gingen zunächst noch weiter und schienen sogar zukunftsversprechend zu sein, obwohl ihre Abwürgung «oben» schon längst beschlossene Sache war.

Das Jahr 1968 aber brachte wenigstens in der UdSSR selbst die Erkenntnis, dass vom System eine Wandlung in Richtung auf eine Gesellschaft mündiger Menschen nicht zu erwarten war. Die durch eine methodische Häufung von Repressalien herbeigeführte Einsicht hat denn auch dazu beigetragen, dass aus den bald geduldeten und bald gemassregelten Nonkonformisten der sechziger Jahre immer deutlicher die systemkritische und systemablehnende Opposition der siebziger Jahre geworden ist. Die Kräfte, die man in der Breschnew-Aera zunehmend summarischer als Feinde behandelt hat, sind unterdessen wenigstens teilweise tatsächlich zu bewussten Feinden einer Gesellschaftsordnung geworden, die sie vorher nur hatten verbessern und humanisieren wollen.

Der Samisdat hat in den letzten Jahren seine grosse, quantitative Ausdehnung erfahren und sich darüber hinaus qualitativ verändert; er ist nicht länger nur mehr Träger des Andersdenkens, sondern immer deutlicher auch Träger des Alternativdenkens. Es ist kein Zufall, dass die «Chronik der laufenden Ereignisse», jene Samisdat-«Zeitschrift», die als Sammelbecken der «Selbstverleger» wirkte, im Frühjahr 1968 zu erscheinen begann, als Ausdruck der Forderung nach Menschenrechten, die das System unterdrückt. (Die «Chronik» ist 1972 nach der Verhaftung Jakirs der polizeilichen Fahndung erlegen, aber seit diesem Jahr lassen neue, anonyme Herausgeber eine Nachfolgepublikation unter gleichem Namen erscheinen.)

Die direkten Zeugnisse über jene desillusionierenden Jahre verdanken wir zu einem guten Teil ebenfalls dem Samisdat (zu einem andern Teil auch der neuen Emigration, da die Sowjetführung unliebsame Elemente nicht ausschliesslich einsperrt, sondern zuweilen auch aussperrt).

Einige dieser Auskünfte sind geeignet, das Bild zu korrigieren, das man sich bei uns von den

jekt, unter anderem Ausstellungen von Bildern ehemals verfolgter oder emigrierter Künstler zu veranstalten. Man befand sich eben in einer Zeit, in der die angefangene Liberalisierung in vielen Bereichen mit behördlichem Segen einfach noch weiterging, obwohl in den obersten Parteigremien ihr Todesurteil schon beschlossene Sache war.

Das Unterfangen beschränkte sich keineswegs auf das Aufhängen von ungewohnten Bildern. Das ersieht man aus der Schilderung Makarenkos, aus der hervorgeht, wie die Galerie zu einem Kristallisationspunkt reformerischer Kräfte wurde und offenkundig ihrem herangereiften Bedürfnis entsprach:

«Vorgreifend kann man sagen, dass unser soziales Experiment ein voller Erfolg war. Im kleinen Akademgorodok von nicht einmal 15 000 Einwohnern organisierten wir monatlich eine oder zwei Ausstellungen, die sehr anspruchsvoll waren. Die Besucher belagerten unsere Galerie geradezu. Mit dem Billettverkauf hörten wir erst um zehn Uhr abends auf, und der Andrang war so, dass man nach Mitternacht die Säle mit Hilfe der Wache leeren musste. Es war für unsere Besucher ein ordentliches Problem, sich die Eintrittskarten zu unsern Diskussionen, Vorträgen, Filmen und Ausstellungen zu verschaffen. Für die Einwohner von Akademgorodok wurde die Galerie zum Gegenstand von Stolz und auch ein bisschen von Prahlerei.»

Den Grundstock der Galerie lieferten Makarenko selbst und ein Moskauer Sammler namens Schigalko mit der Stiftung von Bildern aus dem 18. und 19. Jahrhundert. Aehnlich privatinitiativ zugunsten der Oeffentlichkeit ging es beim Transport zu. Die Initianten besorgten selber alle Packer- und Verladearbeiten und kamen noch für die Transportkosten auf.

So (und so weiter) enstand die erste Bildergalerie zeitgenössischer Kunst in der UdSSR «auf gesellschaftlicher Grundlage ohne Ausgaben staatlicher Mittel».

Sie sollte drei Jahre bestehen. Es waren drei Jahre trügerischen Fortschritts.

Zu Beginn des Jahres 1966 institutionalisierte die Sibirische Abteilung der Akademie der Wissenschaften eine ständige Ausstellung der Galerie im Haus der Gelehrten von Akademgorodok. Auch das Anstellungsverhältnis der Leiter wurde geregelt: Makarenko erhielt als Direktor ab 1. Februar 1966 eine Amtswohnung und 72 Rubel Monatslohn, Rodionow ab Juli 1967 ein Gehalt von 40 Rubel. Anfangs 1968 umfasste das Personal der Galerie schon acht Personen.

Speziell zur Imagepflege nach aussen kam den amtlichen Stellen das Bestehen der Galerie nicht so ungelegen. Sie wurde im Verlaufe ihres kurzen Bestehens von 80 ausländischen Delegationen besucht, und selbstverständlich stand sie in dieser Zeit auch sowjetischen Interessengruppen zur Verfügung, namentlich Schülern und Studenten. Ein spezielles Echo im In- und Ausland fanden die Ausstellungen der Kinderkunstschule.

Auch die Sowjetpresse war damals dem Experiment gegenüber positiv und freundlich eingestellt, und es fehlte keineswegs an offiziellen Glückwünschen der grössten staatlichen Museen der UdSSR (z. B. Majakowskij-Museum und Eremitage) und des befreundeten sozialistischen Auslands (z. B. Prager Nationalgalerie). Künstler von Weltrang, wie Marc Chagall, bemühten sich darum, in Nowosibirsk Ausstellungen veranstalten zu dürfen.

Mit der Ausstrahlung der Galerie stieg auch ihre gesellschaftspolitische Aktivität. Zusammen mit der Aktion «Fackel» (einer Organisation junger Akademiker und Studenten, die in ihrer Freizeit Erfindungen und technische Neuerungen ausarbeiteten) wollte die Galerie ein Jugendzentrum mit neuartigen Ausstellungen erstellen, und Makarenko regte die Schaffung eines Instituts zur Erforschung der friedlichen Koexistenz an.

Ein «Frühling» wird vernichtet

So schienen sich die Aktivitäten der Galerie hoffnungsvoll zu vervielfältigen. Aber gerade das musste den Unwillen der Parteiinstanzen erwekken, die inzwischen immer entschiedener auf den neostalinistischen Kurs zurückgebracht worden waren.

1968 wurde die Missbilligung konkret. *«1968 befand das Nowosibirsker Gebietskomitee der KPdSU die Tätigkeit der Bildergalerie der Sibirischen Abteilung der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR für falsch ausgerichtet.»* Mit diesem Satz sollte am 7. August 1969 das KGB von Moskau aus die entsprechenden Stellen des Sicherheitsdienstes in Nowosibirsk an seine Pflichten erinnern. Die Weichen waren jedenfalls gestellt.

Eine spezielle Kommission begann die Sibirische Abteilung der Akademie umzuschalten und veranlasste das Verbot von mehreren Ausstellungskatalogen; die bereits definitiv vereinbarte Ausstellung von Chagall wurde abgesagt.

Gleichzeitig begannen die hinterhältigen Mittel. Im Februar 1968 organisierte offensichtlich das KGB den Diebstahl zweier Goyas. Er fand statt, als aus Anlass einer Feier die Bewachung des Gebäudes vollständig dem KGB übergeben war, und der Polizei wurde verboten, nach dem Dieb zu fahnden. Anlässe der Galerie wurden so verunmöglicht, dass man z. B. eingeladene Referenten gewaltsam am Erscheinen hinderte (so den Lyriker Wosnessenskij) oder mindestens den Druck von Einladungskarten und Plakaten verbot.

Inzwischen erhielt eine Revisionskommission den Auftrag, der Galerie finanzielle Unregelmässigkeiten nachzuweisen, was immerhin an der Ehrlichkeit der Expertisen scheiterte. So musste die hoffnungsvolle Beschuldigung fallengelassen werden. Makarenko stelle Kopien der ausgestellten Werke her und verkaufe heimlich die Originale.

Das Ausmass der Säuberung ...

Aber welches erstaunliche Ausmass die von der Polizei missbilligten gesellschaftlichen Aktivitä-

ten überhaupt erreicht hatten, zeigt der Repressionskatalog auf, den Makarenko nur knapp erwähnt:

«Es wurden allein in Akademgorodok eine Reihe schöpferischer Institutionen aufgelöst und Jugendklubs geschlossen, darunter

— *der Jugend-Café-Klub «Integral»,*
— *der Lyrikklub «Grenada»,*
— *der Filmklub «Sigma»,*
— *das Volkstheater und eine Reihe anderer schöpferischer Laienkollektive,*
— *die Kinderkunstschule,*
— *die Bildergalerie und der Kino-Photo-Klub der Galerie.*

Viele Parteimitglieder, die diesen Organisationen angehört oder mit ihnen sympathisiert hatten, wurden aus der KPdSU ausgeschlossen.
Eine Reihe namhafter Wissenschafter, hauptsächlich Juden, wurden aus ihrer wissenschaftlichen und pädagogischen Arbeit entlassen, in manchen Fällen auch ausgesiedelt.
Die Führung in den gesellschaftlichen Organisationen wurde auf allen Ebenen ausgewechselt, usw. usf.»

Dimensionen der sowjetischen Opposition macht. Man sieht sie immer noch als die Angelegenheit einiger Intellektueller, die in ihrer Umgebung sowohl atypisch als auch isoliert sind. Das Bild ist, zumindest in seiner Ausschliesslichkeit, nunmehr als falsch einzustufen.

Akademgorodok: Kleinformatige Siedlung grossformatiger Auseinandersetzungen

Man hatte im Westen, bevor man ihn geflissentlich und entspannungsbedacht vergass, den «passiven Widerstand» der Tschechoslowakei von 1968/69 als erstaunliches Phänomen der geistigen Résistance einer ganzen Bevölkerung eingestuft. Er war allerdings nicht passiv gewesen, sondern aktiv und gewaltlos, was ihn jedoch höchstens noch erstaunlicher macht. Jetzt aber lässt sich erfahren, dass jener gleiche Widerstand wenigstens an bestimmten Orten auch in der Sowjetunion anzutreffen war, als man dort im Frühjahr 1968 an den eigenen Intellektuellen die «Normalisierung» vorexerzierte, die man hernach mit militärischer Gewalt in die CSSR hineinbrachte. So war die Wissenschaftersiedlung Akademgorodok bei Nowosibirsk Schauplatz erbitterter und keineswegs isolierter Auseinandersetzungen, in deren Verlauf die Polizei gar nicht anders konnte, als eine ganze Reihe von Organisationen und Vereinen (alle wohlverstanden unter Parteiobhut — andere gibt es nicht) aufzuheben, weil die geschlossene Mitgliedschaft von Komsomolzen usw. sich weigerte, die Restalinisierung im Kultursektor mitzumachen! Und genau wie in den Strassen Prags, und sogar noch etwas vorzeitig, erschienen an den Wänden von Akademgorodok Hakenkreuze zur Kennzeichnung des faschistischen Charakters sowjetischer Polizeimassnahmen!

(Wer diese Gleichsetzung der Totalitarismen als eine persönliche und unzulässige Aberration von Solschenizyn im «Gulag» zu betrachten beliebt, darf hier umdenken lernen. Wer das Sowjetsystem nicht hasst, ist kein Antifaschist.)

Die Memoiren des ehemaligen Galerieleiters

Diese Angaben über eine erstaunliche Krise und Krisenbewältigung in Nowosibirsk finden sich, fast beiläufig vermerkt, in einer Samisdat-Schrift von Ende 1970, welche dieses Jahr im Westen veröffentlicht worden ist.

Der Verfasser ist der ehemalige Galeriedirektor M. Ja. *Makarenko*, der vor vier Jahren für seine bis 1968 geduldete — ja geförderte Tätigkeit zu acht Jahren KZ verurteilt wurde. Sein Zeugnis ist unter dem Titel *«Aus meinem Leben. Eine Antwort an die Provokateure. Ergänzung zur Kassationsklage an das Oberste Gericht der RSFSR»* als Nr. 12 der Samisdat-Dokumentarserie im Possev-Verlag (Frankfurt 1974) erschienen.

Die Schrift ist eigentlich zur Hauptsache als Demaskierung des behördlichen Umgangs mit Gesetzen und Bürgerrechten gedacht, dargestellt am Beispiel von Makarenko selbst und von W. Rodionow, seinem Gefährten, der mit ihm um Entstehung und Ueberleben einer Kunstgalerie in Nowosibirsk kämpfte und dafür bestraft wurde. Die Darstellung der ganzen Skala von Repressionen und Strafen für nicht begangene Delikte ist denn auch eine überaus eindrückliche Illustration zu den sowjetischen Mitteln im Kampfe gegen die Andersdenkenden in der Lesart des neostalinistischen Kurswechsels unter der Oligarchie seit Chruschtschow. Aber unter diesem Aspekt nur eine zusätzliche Aussage zu den vielen Zeugnissen aus der Sowjetunion, die dem Westen zugänglich gemacht worden sind, auch wenn er darauf viel weniger entschieden reagiert als auf (oft viel zweifelhaftere) Berichte über kleinere Diktaturen nichtkommunistischer Provenienz.

Das spezifische Interesse von Makarenkos Biographie liegt indessen bei den nur zur Erläuterung des direkten Sachverhalts geschilderten kulturpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen in Akademgorodok und vor allem ihres Umfangs, der offensichtlich sehr beträchtlich gewesen sein muss. Es ergibt sich, dass die Bevölkerung gerade in ihren offiziell bis offiziös organisierten Teilen aktiv um den Bestand einer Kunstgalerie kämpfte, die für sie zu einem Symbol geistiger Erneuerung und pluralistischer Hoffnung geworden war. Und das wiederum zeigt auf, dass wenigstens dort und damals der erstrebte Ausbruch aus den vorgeschriebenen Denkschablonen keineswegs nur die Sache einiger weniger isolierter «unzufriedener Elemente» war.

Entstehung, Duldung und Ausstrahlung einer unkonventionellen Institution

Makarenko, geboren 1931 in Rumänien, hatte im Krieg als zehnjähriger Judenbub Zuflucht in der Sowjetunion gefunden. Gerade als Jude hatte er danach in seiner neuen Heimat ein ausgesprochen wechselvolles Leben, das ihm namentlich etliche Erfahrungen mit der Bürokratie und ihrer der politischen Tageslinie angepassten Willkür bescherte.

1965 beginnt die Phase, die uns speziell interessiert. Makarenko wurde offiziell eingeladen, in

Nowosibirsk die Bildergalerie der dortigen Sibirischen Abteilung der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR zu leiten.

Nun hatten sich Makarenko und sein Freund «Slawa» (Wjatscheslaw) Rodionow schon eigene Gedanken über den Charakter einer Galerie gemacht, welche neue Möglichkeiten versuchen wollte. Wie er in seinen Aufzeichnungen schreibt, gelangte er

«zur Schlussfolgerung, es sei unerlässlich, fernab von den Kulturzentren eine öffentliche Bildergalerie zu eröffnen (...) und ihre Tätigkeit auf eine neue Basis zu stellen, um nicht auf verpflichtende und erdrückende staatliche Dotationen angewiesen zu sein, sondern sich von Ueberlegungen echter gesellschaftlicher Zweckmässigkeit leiten zu lassen».

Technisch konkret dachte Makarenko dabei, Bilder aus privatem Besitz geschenkweise in öffentliches Eigentum überzuführen, was eigentlich von einem wirklich kommunistischen Gesichtspunkt aus eine vorbildliche Unternehmung gewesen wäre. Natürlich war die intellektuelle Absicht dabei, sich die Auswahl nicht vom amtlichen Geschmack vorschreiben zu lassen:

«Wir wollten mindestens einen Fussbreit sowjetischer Erde im fernen Sibirien mit echter Kunst vertraut machen, sie für die Menschen unerlässlich, zum täglichen Bedürfnis werden zu lassen.»

Und hierin fand Makarenko zunächst Duldung, ja Unterstützung bei seinem Auftraggeber, der Akademie. Ja, deren Parteivorsitzende Tschussowitin und Memirowskij begrüssten sogar das Pro-

Der Einrichtungstag der Galerie und aller ihrer Abteilungen war der 29. März 1968. Das Gebietskomitee der KPdSU verfügte die Einstellung ihrer gesamten Tätigkeit und bezog sich dabei auf ein Schreiben des Zentralkomitees aus Moskau. Dem Direktor Makarenko teilte man mit, seine Tätigkeit widerspreche der Parteipolitik auf dem kulturellen Sektor. Die Akademie wurde veranlasst, ihn und Rodionow zu entlassen. Seine höchstpostierten Förderer hatten Angst, ihn zu decken, und rieten ihm nur, sich still zu verhalten, um seiner Verhaftung zu entgehen.

... und das Ausmass der Solidarisierung

Aber zu diesem Normalverhalten kontrastierte die spontane Solidarisierung des Publikums mit seiner Galerie. Die Stimmung in Akademgorodok muss in jenen Tagen ausgesprochen revolutionär gewesen sein.

Makarenko:

«Aber im Zusammenhang mit der Schliessung der Bildergalerie legten ihre Besucher unerwartete Aktivität an den Tag:

Die Komsomolzen der Universität verbreiteten ein Flugblatt und gaben eine Sondernummer der Wandzeitung heraus. Ferner sammelten sie Unterschriften unter eine Protestpetition und schickten diese durch eine eigens dazu bestimmte Delegation auf eigene Kosten nach Moskau ins ZK des Komsomol.

Einige Studenten (...) brachten nachts entsprechende Inschriften an öffentlichen Gebäuden an, die sie mit Hakenkreuzen ergänzten.

36 namhafte Wissenschafter wandten sich in einem Kollektivbrief an das Präsidium der Sibirischen Abteilung der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR und an das Bezirkskomitee der KPdSU; sie protestierten gegen die Schliessung der Bildergalerie.»

Die Solidarisierung sollte sogar einen unmittelbaren (wenn auch kurzfristigen) Erfolg haben. Als Makarenko am 5. April 1968 verhaftet wurde (zur sofortigen Quittung dafür, dass er am Vortag einen Parteisekretär wegen Verleumdung eingeklagt hatte, was den Gerichtsvorsitzenden vor Angst zum Schwitzen brachte), bewirkte ein Menschenauflauf, hauptsächlich von studierender Jugend, dass man ihn nach fünf Stunden wieder auf freien Fuss setzte. Seine schliessliche Verhaftung fand dann ausserhalb von Nowosibirsk statt, in Leningrad, nachdem man ihm «gut zugeredet» hatte, aus Akademgorodok auszuziehen.

Dann folgte der Leidensweg, der für Andersdenkende besonders in den letzten Jahren typisch geworden ist: Schikanen aller Arten, Entzug von Wohnungen und Aufenthaltsbewilligungen, Entlassungen aus Arbeitsstellen (z. B. als Heizer), Entzug der elterlichen Gewalt (allerdings musste man dazu zweimal den Vorsitzenden der zuständigen Kommission entlassen, die zweimal für Makarenko entschied, aber im dritten Anlauf war man soweit), und das alles verwoben in einen bürokratischen Dschungel von widersprüchlichen Anordnungen (die Befolgung der einen ist nur auf Kosten der andern möglich, und schon hat man sein Delikt), Auskunftsverweigerungen, Vertröstungen, Drohungen, Abschiebungen auf andere Instanzen usw. Makarenkos Bericht vom 15. Dezember 1970 sagt gegen Schluss:

«Und jetzt hat er (der Staat) mich zu acht Jahren und Slawa Rodionow zu drei Jahren strengen Regimes unter Konfiszierung des gesamten Vermögens sowie lebenslänglicher Kontribution in Höhe von 25 000 Rubel für nichtbegangene kriminelle Handlungen verurteilt. Er hat uns also im besten Stil unserer heutigen Demokratie zurückgezahlt.»

•

Aber die angeführten Vorgänge in Nowosibirsk waren weder nationalistische Erscheinungen der Minoritäten noch Ausdruck temporärer materieller Unzufriedenheit mit Preissteigerungen oder dergleichen, also nicht durch jene Art von «Motiven zu erklären, denen man gemeinhin noch eine gewisse Breitenwirkung in der Sowjetunion zutraut. Die Solidarisierung (wenn auch in einer intellektuell elitären Siedlung) galt einer Bildergalerie und war Zeichen des Hungers nach Ausdrucks- und Gedankenfreiheit, Dinge, von denen man hier im Westen annimmt, dass «die Massen» in der UdSSR mit ihnen ohnehin nichts anzufangen wüssten. Eine sehr bequeme These, denn sie enthebt uns selber der Solidarisierung in diesen Belangen. Meint man. Aber die Tatsache, dass viele unter uns unsern gewährleisteten Pluralismus satt haben, heisst noch lange nicht, dass andere keinen Hunger danach hätten. Und keinen Anspruch auf die Errungenschaften hätten, die wir so hochnäsig verspielen, wie es in untergehenden Zivilisationen noch immer «in» war.

eb

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Washington, D.C. 20540

ZEIT BILD

is published every 15 days.

Bern, July 10, 1974. 15th year, No. 14

U.S.S.R. 1968: to begin with

In 1968 before the normalization of Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union normalized its own country. The fate of the Painting Gallery in Akademgorodok illustrates this process (page 2).

Gallery in Siberia

In Samiisdat, the author reports about the appearance and of the strangling of acultural experiment in the Soviet Union.

GALLERY IN SIBERIA

The liquidation of the Prague Spring of 1968 had in the same year a small, less expressed, but significant forerunner in Siberia. The center of events was a painting gallery in the scientists' settlement Akademgorodok in Novosibirsk. In its universal, pluralistic and contemporary character it was a symbol of social emancipation for the population, and when it was forcebly closed as a sing of neo-Stalinistic cultural policy, the public rioted including the official Comsomol organization. We report about this on the basis of the former gallery director; s memoires which have just been published in Russian in the Possev Publishing House in Frankfurt).

When the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968, it made clear to all the world that it wanted to forcibly prevent

spiritual renaissance and emancipation in the satellite States. The occupation was an evident sign of the restoration of silence and order in the East European forefield of the U.S.S.R.

Less evident was, on the contrary, at first, that the denial of the Prague spring was at the same time a denial and a consequence on the domestic Soviet level of its own reform course in the recent past.

1968:

Crisis and Repression also in the Soviet Union

In fact the year 1968 was also in the Soviet Union a year of confrontation, of crisis and repression. Before the Soviet Union leadership began with "normalizat on" in Czechslovakia according to its understanding, it "normalized" in the same sense the situation in the U.S.S.R. itself. However, this extended process was not so concentrated, not so dramatic and because of exemplary closed society it was not so evident as the external intervention in the Czechslovak example.

Translated by Casimir Petraitis
CRS - Language Services - 4/5/82 - amc

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN THE USSR:

Their Treatment and Conditions

Medical Conditions

Obviously lengthy subjection to undernourishment can, and in many cases does, have serious consequences for prisoners' health. The combination of low-grade, badly cooked and hastily eaten food with heavy labour in unhealthy conditions and a harsh climate causes some prisoners to emerge as chronic invalids. Most inmates suffer from stomach ulcers and other gastric complaints after two or three years. Colony and prison medical facilities are inadequate to cope with the health problems of prisoners subjected for long periods to these harmful conditions.

It has often happened that in cases where camp or prison doctors have recommended that a prisoner be relieved from work, given light work, or sent to a hospital, the camp or prison administration has overruled the recommendation.

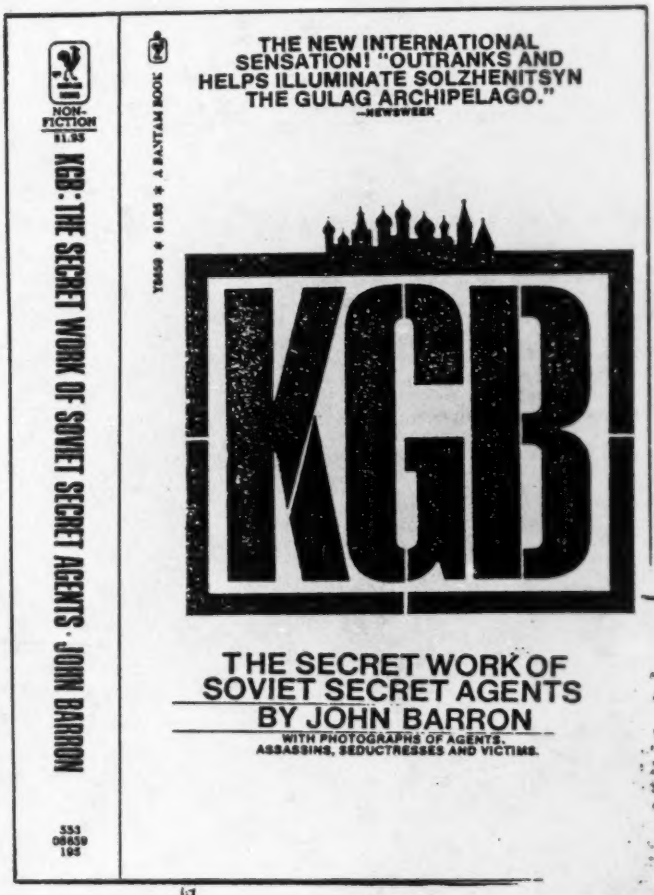
There are also numerous reports that inadequate measures are taken in camps and prisons to isolate inmates with tuberculosis or other infectious diseases. From the available information it is evident that a disturbingly high proportion of prisoners suffer from tuberculosis—as many as 25 per cent, according to Bukovsky. *A Chronicle of Current Events* reported in 1975 about Vladimir prison:

> For one and a half years Mikhail Makarenko has been in the same cell with a man suffering from tuberculosis. Now he himself has an active [*otkrytaya*] form of tuberculosis.

Similar reports have been received from camps in Perm and Mordovia.

An Amnesty International Report

First edition, November 1975
Second edition, April 1980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—NEWSWEEK
KGB
THE SECRET WORK OF SOVIET SECRET AGENTS
BY JOHN BARRON
WITH PHOTOGRAPHS OF AGENTS, ASSASSINS, SEDUCTRESSES AND VICTIMS.

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Consider some of the crimes and sentences of people arrested by the KGB since 1969:

Y. M. SUSLENSKY, forty-two, teacher of English, seven years' imprisonment for protesting Soviet actions, including the invasion of Czechoslovakia.

M. Y. MAKARENKO, forty-one, manager of an art gallery, eight years' hard labor and confiscation of property for "anti-Soviet agitation."

... labor for preparing children for confirmation.

NATALIA GORBANEVSKAYA, thirty-five, poet, unlimited confinement in mental institution for demonstrating against invasion of Czechoslovakia and reporting trials of dissenters.

G. ALTUNYAN, age unknown, army officer, three years for circulating "falsehoods derogatory to ... state and social system."

OLGA IOFFE ...

A. E. LEVITIN, fi... imprisonment ... and state."

VALENTIN MOROZ, ... years' imprisonm... tration camp plu... some of the sam... camps under Sta... Brezhnev.

LEV UBOZHKO, age ... concentration can...

Amalrik, Andrei S... *Chronicle.*

SIMAS KUDIRKA, thirty-... onment for trying to ...

NIKOLAI BOGACH, twel... imprisonment for att... nization for the strugg...

VLADIMIR GERSHUNI, th... confinement in psychi... tion of "falsehoods ab... system."

V. N. NIKITENKOV, forty-t... ment" in psychiatric hos... ing United States emb... sibility of emigration.

V. MARKMAN, thirty-four, ... "slandering the Soviet s... calls to friends abroad.

... NOVODVORSKAYA, ninetee... a special psychiatric institu... tion and ...

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN AUS POLITIK · KULTUR · WIRTSCHAFT · SPORT

8./9. April 1978

Sorge um einen Menschenrechtsverfechter

Amnesty International sorgt sich um den Maler, Kunsthistoriker und -sammler Mikhail Makarenko, der vor zehn Jahren als Restaurator an der Leningrader „Eremitage" gearbeitet hat. Obwohl namhafte Schriftsteller wie Heinrich Böll, Peter Härtling, Siegfried Lenz, Walter Jens und Wolfgang Hildesheimer sich für ihn eingesetzt haben, wird sein Ausreisegesuch nicht bearbeitet.

Im August 1977 wurde Makarenko nach achtjähriger Lager- und Gefängnishaft entlassen, zu

der er verurteilt worden war, weil er an einen liberalen Kommunismus glaubte und das auch zu sagen wagte. Auch während seiner Haft setzte er sich unermüdlich für die Einhaltung der Menschenrechte ein und für eine Modernisierung des sowjetischen Strafvollzugs.

Eine Arbeit über dieses Thema und die Verbreitung eines Flugblattes nach seiner Entlassung werden von der sowjetischen Führung leider nicht als Reformbeiträge, sondern als Provokation verstanden. Seit Februar 1978 muß Makarenko im „Untergrund" leben, weil er mehrfach willkürlich und ohne Gerichtsverfahren oder -urteil festgenommen und in Haft gehalten wurde. Es ist unverständlich, daß ein derart um die russische Kultur verdienter Mann sich solchen Repressalien ausgesetzt sieht.

Andrea von Fuchs, verantwortlich
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Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN AUS POLITIK · KULTUR · WIRTSCHAFT · SPORT

12.4.1978

Sorge um einen Kritiker

Das Schicksal Mikhail Makarenkos

Amnesty international sorgt sich um den Maler, Kunsthistoriker und -sammler Mikhail Makarenko, der vor zehn Jahren als Restaurator an der Leningrader „Eremitage" gearbeitet hat. Obwohl Schriftsteller wie Heinrich Böll, Peter Härtling, Siegfried Lenz, Walter Jens und Wolfgang Hildesheimer sich für ihn eingesetzt haben, wird sein Ausreisegesuch nicht bearbeitet.

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F.A.Z.

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[Source: Suddeutsche Zeitung, April 4, 1978]

CONCERN ABOUT A CRITIC

The fate of Micahel Makarenko

Amnesty International is worried about the painter, art historian and collector, Michael Makarenko, who ten years ago worked at the Hermitage museum in Leningrad. Though writers such as Heinrich Boll, Peter Hartling, Siefried Lenz, Walter Tjens and Wolfgang Hildesheimer intervened on his behalf, his application for an exit visa was not taken care of.

In August 1977 Makarenko was released from prison after eight years captivity to which he had been sentenced because he believed in liberal communism and had dared to say this. Even during his captivity he relentlessly intervened for the respect of human rights and for the modernization of the Soviet penitentiary system.

A study on this subject and the dissemination of a pamphlet after his release from prison, was understood by the Soviet government not as a contribution to reform but as provocation. Since February, 1978 Makarenko has been living in the "underground"because he has been arrested many times arbitrarily and without judicial procedure and sentence. It is incomprehensible that a man who has done so much for the Russian culture is exposed to such reprisals.

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune
Published with The New York Times and The Washington Post

September 5, 1978

Freed Dissident Leaves Russia

VIENNA, Sept. 4 (Reuters) — Soviet dissident Mikhail Makarenko, who served a long prison term after organizing a non-conformist art show, arrived in Vienna last night and said that he planned to settle in Western Europe.

Mr. Makarenko, 47, freed last year after having served most of an eight-year sentence, arrived from Leningrad with his daughter Olga, 23, her husband, and the couple's three-year-old son.

Former director of an art gallery in Novosibirsk, Mr. Makarenko was jailed in 1970 after organizing an exhibition of works by Picasso, Chagall, and dissident Soviet painter Oskar Rabin. Mr. Makarenko said that he hoped to find work in Western Europe with an organization concerned with human rights in the Soviet Union.

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN AUS POLITIK · KULTUR · WIRTSCHAFT · SPORT

5. September 1978

Dissident Makarenko in Wien

Der sowjetische Dissident Michail Makarenko ist aus Leningrad über Moskau und Berlin kommend in Wien eingetroffen. Der 1970 zu acht Jahren Gefängnis und Lager verurteilte Kunstgeschichtler und ehemalige Leiter einer Galerie in Nowosibirsk wurde von seiner 23jährigen Tochter, deren Mann sowie seinem dreijährigen Enkel begleitet. Der 47jährige, der in Westeuropa bleiben und sich für die Verwirklichung der Menschenrechte in der Sowjetunion einsetzen will, bezeichnete seine Gefangenschaft als „Schule des politischen Kampfes". Gleichzeitig äußerte er sich befriedigt über die Besorgnis im Westen über die Lage der Dissidenten. Hier beginne man erst jetzt zu begreifen, „was Kommunismus ist". Vor seiner Verhaftung hatte Makarenko eine Ausstellung mit Werken von Oskar Rabin, Picasso und Chagall vorbereitet. Das sowjetische Parteiorgan *Prawda* hatte ihm vorgeworfen, er versuche „mit schlechten Schriften im Westen bekannt" zu werden. ddp

The Washington Post

Sept. 5, 1978 A - II

Dissident Arrives in Vienna

VIENNA—Soviet dissident Mikhail Makarenko, 47, who served a prison term after organizing a nonconformist art show, has arrived in Vienna. He says he plans to settle in Western Europe.

Makorenko flew from Leningrad with his daughter, Olga, 23, her husband and their 3-year-old son Mikhail.

USSR - MAKARENKO ON DISSIDENT SITUATION

WIEN, 5 SEPTEMBER -(AFP)- ''EIN HUNGERSTREIK WIRD VON ALLEN SOWJET-DISSIDENTEN AM 5. SEPTEMBER IM ANGEDENKEN AN DEN "TAG DES ROTEN TERRORS"(DES JAHRES 1918 BEFOLGT'', ERKLAERTE DIENSTAG IN WIEN DER JUEDISCHE SOWJET-DISSIDENT MIKHEIL MAKARENKO. MAKARENKO, DER SONNTAG AUS LENINGRAD KOMMEND IN DER OESTERREICHISCHEN HAUPTSTADT EINGETROFFEN WAR, HOB HERVOR, DASS ''DER HUNGERSTREIK AN DIE ERSTEN OPFER DER POLITISCHEN VERFOLGUNG DURCH DAS SOWJETISCHE REGIME'' ERINNERN SOLL .''DER HUNGERSTREIK'', FUEGTE ER HINZU, '' WIRD DIENSTAG VON ALLEN SOWJETISCCHEN DISSIDENTEN, SOWOHL IN DER UDSSR WIE IM AUSLAND , EINGEHALTEN''. MAKARENKO ERKLAERTE FERNER, IM GEFAENGNIS VON WLADIMIR, WO ER DIE LETZTE ZEIT SEINER 9-JAEHRIGEN INHAFTIERUNG IN DER UDSSR VERBRACHT HAT, DIE BEKANNTSCHAFT EINES CHINESISCHEN MIT-HAEFTLINGS, (MA-CHUN) GEMACHT ZU HABEN. ''FUER DIE SOWJETISCHEN BEHOERDEN WAR MA-CHUN DER SOHN EINES HOHEN CHINESISCHEN BEAMTEN UND GEHEIMAGENT''HOB MAKARENKO HERVOR. ''IN WAHRHEIT HANDELTE ES SICH JEDOCH UM EINEN EINFACHEN HIPTEN AUS DER MANDSCHUREI, DER IN DER ZWISCHENZEIT FREIGELAESEN WURDE''BETONTE ER.

ZUR DERZEITIGEN LAGE DER SOWJETISCHEN BUERGERRECHTSBEWEGUNG AEUSSERTE SICH MAKARENKO PESSIMISTISCH: ''MOSKAU WIRD 1980, ZUM ZEITPUNKT DER OLYMPISCHEN SPIELE, EINE STADT OHNE DISSIDENTEN SEIN''. ''DIE BUERGERRECHTSKAEMPFER WERDEN ENTWEDER IM GEFAENGNIS ODER IN DER DEPORTATION ODER ABER OPFER ADMINISTRATIVER MASSNAHMEN SEIN'', FUEGTE ER HINZU.

MAKARENKO ERKLAERTE ABSCHLIESSEND, DASS ER ''DIE BALDIGE FREILASSUNG IN DEN WESTEN DES DISSIDENTEN ANATOLI SCHTSCHARANSKY, DER AM 14. JULI ZU 13 JAHREN HAFT VERURTEILT WURDE, MITTELS EINES ''AUSTAUSCHS'' ODER ''HANDELS'', FUER MOEGLICH HALTE. ER SCHLOSS DES WEITEREN EINE ''BALDIGE DEPORTATION VON PROFESSOR ANDREI SACHAROW'' NICHT AUS.

HWG/1540/78

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Translation (German)

Washington, D.C. 20540

USSR - MAKARENKO ON DISSIDENT SITUATION

Vienna, September 5 (AFP) - "A hunger strike will be observed on September 5 by all Soviet dissidents in memory of the "Day of the Red Terror" in 1918, Jewish dissident Mikhail Makarenko stated on Tuesday in Vienna. Makarenko, who came to the Austrian capital on Sunday from Leningrad, emphasized, that "the hunger strike will remind us of the first victims of the Soviet regime." "The hunger strike" he added, "will be observed on Tuesday by all Soviet dissidents, in the U.S.S.R. as well as abroad." In addition, Makarenko stated, in the Vladimir prison, where he spent his last days of the 8-year sentence in the U.S.S.R., regarded by the Soviet authorities "as a son of high Chinese official and secret agent, Makarenko pointed out. "In reality he was an ordinary shepherd from manjuria,released in the meantime,"he said.

Insofar as the Soviet freedom movement is concerned, Makarenko was pessimistic: "In 1980 during the Olympic Games Moscow will be a city without dissidents ." "The human rights fighters will be either in jail, or deported or victims of administrative measures," he added. Makarenko delcared in the end that he thinks that the release from jail and into the West of dissident Antaoly Sharansky, who was sentenced to 13 years in prison on July 14, will be possible through exchange or barter and he did not exclude "the deportation of Professor Andrei Sacharow in the near future."

Die Presse
UNABHÄNGIGE ZEITUNG FÜR ÖSTERREICH

USSR -- THE DAY OF THE VICTIMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY F-533

Munich, September 7 [GND/tt] Following article appeared yesterday's Vienna liberal daily Die Presse titled "Haftlinge in der Sowjetunion begingen 'Tag der KP-Opfer,"

Eigenbericht der „Presse"

WIEN (p. m.). Häftlinge in allen Teilen der Sowjetunion begingen am Dienstag „ihren" Jahrestag, nämlich den „Tag der Opfer der [illegible]" in Erinnerung an das „Dekret vom Roten Terror" des 5. September 1918). Jener Mann, der die Anregung für Hungerstreiks und symbolische Totenmessen in Gefängnissen und Arbeitslagern gegeben hat, befindet sich nun in Wien: Michail Makarenko, ein 47-jähriger Rumäne jüdischer Abstammung, war 1939 auf der Flucht vor Verfolgungen in die Sowjetunion gekommen und verbrachte dort insgesamt elf Jahre in Haft — nicht zuletzt als Folge seiner Herkunft.

Makarenko ist allerdings einer der aktivsten Bürgerrechtskämpfer in der Sowjetunion gewesen. Daß er im Westen kaum bekannt ist, beruht auf der Tatsache, daß er sich schon 1965 vor administrativen Schikanen nach Sibirien zurückgezogen hatte. Gewerkschaftsähnliche Aktivitäten hatten ihm den Ausschluß vom Fernstudium und zwangsweise psychiatrische Behandlungen eingebracht. Schließlich übertrug man Makarenko die Leitung einer Gemäldegalerie in der „Stadt der Wissenschaft", Akademgorodok (bei Nowosibirsk). Als er allerdings nonkonformistische Ausstellungen organisierte — unter den Bildern befanden sich etwa Werke Marc Chagalls —, wurde er entlassen.

Im Juli 1969 verhaftet, wurde Makarenko wegen Gründung einer Geheimpartei zu acht Jahren Lagerhaft verurteilt. Wegen ständiger Beschwerden gegen die Haftbedingungen wiederholt „umgesiedelt" — unter anderem saß er in mehreren Lagern Mordwiniens —, kam er schließlich 1977 frei, blieb allerdings im Untergrund, weil ihm Verbannung drohte.

Im Juli dieses Jahres ließen die Behörden Makarenko über die jüdische Aktivistin Ida Nudel wissen, er „dürfe" ausreisen; indirekt wurde mit seiner Ermordung gedroht. Am Wochenende traf der Regimekritiker in Wien ein.

Ida Nudel, die seit sieben Jahren nach Israel auswandern will, ist hingegen in ein Dorf bei Tomsk verbannt worden, wo sie [illegible] Makarenko als Putzfrau arbeitet. Grund für die vierjährige Strafe: Die Frau hatte kürzlich an ihrem Balkon ein Transparent angebracht, auf dem sie den Geheimdienst aufforderte: „KGB, laß mich raus nach Israel."

Congressional Research Service
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Translation (French)

Washington, D.C. 20540

[Source: Die Presse, independent newspaper for Austria, September 6, (?)]

USSR - THE DAY OF THE VICTIMS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Munich, September 7 (GND/tt) the following article appeared in yesterday's Vienna liberal daily Die Presse entitled "The prisoners of the Soviet Union commemorate the day of the victims of the Communist Party."

From our own correspondent

Vienna (p.m.) Prisoners in all parts of the Soviet Union commemorated on Tuesday "their" anniversary, namely the "Day of the Victims of the Communist Party" (in remembrance of the Decree of the Red Terror of September 5, 1918). The man who encouraged the hunger strikes and symbolic requiem masses in prisons and concentration camps is now in Vienna: Michael Makarenko, 47, a Rumanian of Jewish descent, had come to the Soviet Union in 1939, fleeing persecution and spent there altogether 11 years in detention - not the least owing to his origin.

Makarenko was, however, one of the most active human rights activists in the Soviet Union. The fact that he is little known in the West is because he went to Siberia in 1965 to escape internal exile. Labor union activities led to his expulsion from studies by correspondence and forced psychiatric treatment. Finally, he was assigned to direct an art gallery in the "city of science" in Akademgorodok (near Nowosibirsk). When he organized non-conformist exhibitions - among the paintings to be exhibited were works by March Chagall - he was dismissed.

Arrested in July 1969, Makarenko was sentenced to eight years in prison for founding a political party. For his constant complaints against treatment in captivity he was "transferred" several times.

Among other places he spent time in several camps in the Mordovian Republic until finally he was released in 1977, but remained, however, in the underground because there was a threat of deportation.

In July of this year the Soviet authorities informed him through Jewish activists Ida Nudel that he "could" emigrate. Indirectly he was threatened with assassination. This weekend the critic of the Soviet system arrived in Vienna.

Ida Nudel, who had been trying for seven years to emigrate to Israel, was deported to a village near Tomsk, where she is working as a charwoman according to Makarenko, The reason for this deportation and four year sentence is: Mrs. Nudel recently exhibited a banner on which she requested from the Secret Service: "KGB, let me out to Israel."

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN AUS POLITIK · KULTUR · WIRTSCHAFT · SPORT

Menschen in München

Seine Lebenssituation: Flucht und Verfolgung

Das Leben des Michail Makarenko (der seit Oktober 1978 in München eine Mansarde bewohnt) auf zwei Spalten abzuhandeln, ist ein ähnlich schlichtes Vorhaben wie die Verarbeitung des Doktor-Schiwago-Stoffs etwa zu einem Vier-Minuten-Film.

Makarenko wurde 1931 in der rumänischen Donaustadt Galac an der russischen Grenze geboren, als Sohn jüdischer Eltern, und erlebte mit acht Jahren die Judenpogrome. Weil er gehört hatte, daß Juden in der Sowjetunion nicht verfolgt würden, floh er auf einem Lastkahn über die Grenze; folgenschwerer Kinderirrtum.

MICHAIL MAKARENKO gilt bei den Exilrussen als „legendäre Gestalt".
Photo: Studio Kowalski

Zunächst wurde der kleine Spion (so behandelte man ihn) in ein Kinderheim gesteckt; dann besuchte er russische Schulen, schwindelte sich älter und kam 1942 zur Armee. Mit 13 Jahren war er bereits dreimal von den Deutschen verwundet und bekam daraufhin einen richtigen Wehrpaß als „jüngster Rotarmist". Den Soldaten war seine Herkunft natürlich ganz egal. Sie hätschelten ihr Muskottchen und pflegten es, gaben ihm Zucker ab.

Nach dem Krieg wurde das anders. Zwischen 1947 und 1955 verlor Makarenko immer wieder Arbeitsplatz und Papiere, wenn seine rumänisch-jüdische Abstammung bekannt wurde. Kontakte zu seinen Eltern, die er wiedersehen wollte, jede Ausreise wurden ihm untersagt. Er pendelte zwischen Tiflis, Stalingrad, Kiew, Moskau, Turkmenistan und Nowosibirsk hin und her, arbeitsuchend und mit der Hoffnung, irgendeine Sowjetrepublik werde ihn endlich einbürgern.

Nachdem er sich 1952 im Koreakrieg ausgezeichnet hatte, erinnerte man sich auch seiner ersten soldatischen Verdienste. Er konnte in Leningrad (seiner „Traumstadt") bleiben, heiratete dort 1955. Er holte die versäumten Schulklassen nach, arbeitete sich zum Restaurator in der Eremitage hoch, studierte und sammelte nebenher Malerei und Graphik. Gleichzeitig betätigte er sich „politisch" in Form von Leserbriefen und Referaten über Abrüstungs- und Entspannungspolitik. Die Behörden erinnerten sich, daß er eigentlich rumänischer Jude sei, nahmen ihm sukzessive Paß, Wohnung und seine drei Kinder weg, die Universität schloß ihn aus. Makarenko wurde mehrmals verhaftet und als Systemkritiker psychiatrisch untersucht.

Schließlich kehrte er Leningrad den Rücken und ging freiwillig in das Pionierland Sibirien, wo er beim „Aufbau der Bildergalerie Nowosibirsk" beteiligt wurde. Diese Galerie betrachtet er als sein eigentliches Lebenswerk. Er stiftete als Grundstock seine eigene ansehnliche Sammlung, die sehr viele unbekannte und nonkonformistische russische Maler des 18. bis 20. Jahrhunderts enthielt. Die Galerie wurde zur Attraktion der Stadt. Makarenko organisierte zahlreiche Ausstellungen nicht immer genehmer Künstler. 1968, bei einer zuerst genehmigten, dann verbotenen Chagall-Ausstellung wurde Makarenko entlassen, ein Jahr später wegen „antisowjetischer Propaganda" verhaftet und 1970 zu acht Jahren Arbeitslager verurteilt, die er im Ural und im Moskauer Vladimir-Gefängnis verbüßte. Als engagierter Bürgerrechtler setzte er sich in Tausenden von Eingaben an die Verwaltung für seine Mitgefangenen ein, versuchte, die russischen Gesetze wörtlich zu nehmen; als „gefährlicher Staatsverbrecher" sollte er deshalb nach der Haft auch noch in die Verbannung gehen. Daraufhin tauchte Makarenko unter. Es gelang ihm, sich 14 Monate versteckt zu halten. Heinrich Böll, Siegfried Lenz, Walter Jens, der PEN-Club, die Académie Française und eine Münchner Gruppe von Amnesty International setzten sich für seine Ausreise ein, die ihm im Herbst 1978 endlich erlaubt wurde.

Seitdem schreibt Makarenko. Seine Autobiographie (nur auf russisch in einem Exilverlag erschienen) zeichnet den Alltag eines Dissidenten. Jahrelanger Kleinkrieg mit den Behörden, der sich allmählich zu einem Großkrieg mit der Justiz auswächst und ins Lager mündet. In Artikeln beschäftigt er sich mit Bürgerrechts- und Gewerkschaftsbewegungen in der UdSSR. „Optisch" erinnert ihn München „entfernt" an das schöne Leningrad. Sein Asylantrag läuft.

Sibylle Mulot

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

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PEOPLE IN MUNICH

HIS LIFE EXPERIENCES: FLIGHT AND PERSECUTION

To describe the life of Michael Makarenko (who has been living in an attic since October 1978 in Munich) in two volumes, is similar to processing Doctor Zhivago material into a four-minute film.

Makarenko was born in 1931 in the Rumanian city of Galao on the Danube, near the Russian frontier, and as the son of Jewish parents he experienced a progrome against the Jews at eight years of age. After hearing that the Jews were not persecuted in the Soviet Union, he escaped on a barge over the border; this was an error with serious consequences.

At first the small spy (as he used to be called) was placed in a children's home; then he went to Russian schools. Saying that he was older than he really was, he joined the Russian army in 1942. At the age of 13 he had already been wounded three times by the Germans and then got a true army pass as the "youngest Red Army soldier." The soldiers did not pay any attention to his origin. They regarded him as their mascot and used to save their sugar rations for him.

After the war, the situation became different. Between 1945 and 1955 Makarenko lost his job and his identity papers again and again when his Rumanian Jewish origin became known. He was not allowed to have contacts with his parents or to leave the country.

He used to shuttle between Tiflis, Stalingrad, Kiev, Moscow, Turkmenistan and Nowosibirsk, looking for a job and in the hope that some of the Soviet Republics would adopt him as their citizen.

After he was decorated in 1952 during the Korean War, they remembered his first military merits. He was able to settle down in Leningrad (his dream city) and got married there in 1955. He was able to make up for his missed school classes and worked up to the job of restorer in the Hermitage, studied and collected paintings and engravings. At the same time he became active politically by writing letters to the editor and gave lectures on disarmament and detente subjects. The authorities remembered that he was in reality a Rumanian Jew, took his passport from him, as well as his apartment and his three children and expelled him from the university. Makarenko was arrested several times and subjected to psychiatric tests for being a critic of the Soviet system.

Finally, he turned his back on Leningrad and left of his own free will for Siberia, the pioneer land where he took part in the establishment of the Nowosibirsk Art Gallery. He regards this Art Gallery as his life's work. For the basic collection he donated his own considerable collection, comprising many unknown and non-conformist painters of the 18th to 20th century. The Gallery became the attraction point of the city. Makarenko organized numerous exhibitions of not always acceptable artists. In 1968, during the first accepted then prohibited Chagall Exhibition, Makarenko was dismissed, and a year later he was arrested because of "anti-Soviet propaganda" and in 1970 sentenced to eight years in a concentration camp, which he served in/Ural and in the Vladimir Prison in Moscow. As a committed human rights activist he intervened in thousands of petitions with the administration for his co-prisoners and tried to take the Soviet laws in their literal meaning, as a dangerous state criminal he had to go into exile after serving his sentence. After this Makarenko went into hiding and disappeared for eleven months. Heinrich Boll, Siegfried Lenz, Walter Jens, the PEN-Club, the French Academy and the Munich Section of Amnesty International intervened in favor of his exit visa, which was finally issued in the fall of 1978.

Since then Makarenko has spent his time writing. His autobiography (published only in Russian in an exile publishing house) describes the daily life of a dissident. A small war with authorities extending over many years grows into a big conflict with justice and leads him into concentration camp. In his article he deals with human rights and labor union movements in the USSR. Visually Munich reminds him of Leningrad. His application for asylumn in being processed.

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Der Report

UNABHÄNGIGE WOCHEN ZEITUNG

Postvertriebsstück – Gebühr bezahlt

Begegnung im Hungerzelt

Ein Gespräch mit dem Sowjet-Dissidenten Michail Makarenko.

Seite 4

Dreißig Jahre Deklaration der Menschenrechte

Knapp 2000 Menschen hatten sich am Sonntag in Bonn zu einer Veranstaltung – Schweigemarsch mit anschließender Kundgebung – eingefunden, unter ihnen ehemalige DDR-Bürger, Flüchtlinge und Exilgruppen aus verschiedenen osteuropäischen Ländern sowie Vietnamflüchtlinge. Wladimir Bukowski, M. Makarenko, Prof. Nitsche, Vertreter der verschiedenen Parteien hielten Ansprachen. Sprecher der Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte zeigten sich enttäuscht darüber, daß das Ministerium für Innerdeutsche Beziehungen die Entgegennahme einer Liste mit Namen von 400 politischen Gefangenen und Ausreisewilligen aus der DDR verweigert habe.
Ein 3tägiger Hungerstreik, an dem sich 110 Personen beteiligten, ging der Veranstaltung voraus und machte die Bonner Bevölkerung mitten im vorweihnachtlichen Marktplatz-Einkaufsrummel auf Menschenrechtsverletzungen, vor allem in Osteuropa, aufmerksam. Der Unterschied zwischen westlicher Konsumjagd und östlichem Bürgerkampf könnte nicht krasser ins Auge springen. Im Hungerzelt sprachen wir mit dem russischen Bürgerrechtler Michail Janowitsch Makarenko.

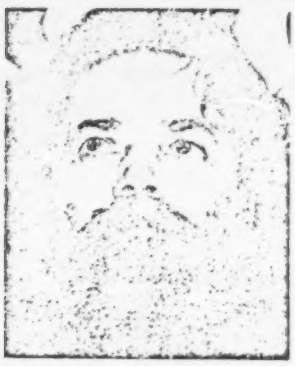
Wie wenig die Menschenrechte auch nach 30 Jahren respektiert werden, demonstrierten in diesem Zelt am Bonner Marktplatz über 100 Bürgerrechtler. *Fotos: Uhlendin*

Begegnung im Hungerzelt

Gespräch mit dem Sowjet-Dissidenten Michail Makarenko

Der Report: *Aus welchem Grund kämpfen Sie gegen das Regime der Sowjetunion?*
Makarenko: Ich kämpfe an erster Stelle gegen die Verbrechen am Menschen durch das russische System. Vor mehr als 7 Jahren begann ich damit, Versammlungen durchzuführen und die Menschen über die Terrormaßnahmen unseres Regimes aufzuklären. Der 5. September wird bei allen Regimegegnern als Nationaltrauertag gefeiert (Makarenko rief diesen Tag vor sieben Jahren ins Leben, Anm. d. Red.) An diesem Tag wurde im Jahre 1918 von der sowjetischen Regierung das „Dekret vom Roten Terror" erlassen. Auf dieser Grundlage entstanden die Konzentrationslager und in über 40 Jahren Totalitarismus sind 66,7 Millionen Menschen umgebracht worden.

Im Gefängnis, im Krankenhaus, im Arbeitslager und an vielen anderen Orten gibt es am Abend des 4. September, wenn die Dunkelheit beginnt, geheime Zusammenkünfte und Vorgänge verschiedener Art. Wir legen ein weißes Leintuch auf den Boden und errichten aus Erde ein Grab. In der Stille wird eine große Kerze angezündet für all die 66,7 Millionen Getöteten, jeder zündet noch Kerzen für die Toten in seiner Verwandtschaft an. Nach einer Schweigeminute beginnt der Massenhungerstreik. Viele gehen am 5. September nicht zur Arbeit und protestieren auf irgendeine Art. Am Abend des 5. September versammeln sich die Streikenden, gedenken der Umgebrachten, singen Gefangenenlieder und 40 Glaubensrichtungen beten gemeinsam zu Gott. Diese Tradition hat in allen Lagern und Gefängnissen große Popularität gewonnen.
DR: *Soll man hier im Westen auf die Menschenrechtsverletzungen im Ostblock laut aufmerksam machen oder ist durch diplomatische, stille Verhandlungen mehr zu erreichen?*
Makarenko: Ich halte öffentliche Aufklärung über die Situation in der UdSSR für



Einer von ihnen, Michail J. Makarenko, weiß erschütterndes zu berichten.

wichtig. Die Menschen hier sind nicht richtig informiert, das Ausmaß der Gegenbewegung in der Sowjetunion wird verkannt. Die Streiks der Regimegegner brachten der sowjetischen Wirtschaft ebensoviele Verluste wie die amerikanischen Arbeiterstreiks der letzten 25 Jahre der US-Wirtschaft. Während in der Sowjetunion jedes Jahr 11 Millionen Arbeiter kampfen, sind es in Amerika nur 1,7 Millionen.

Weitere hier unbekannte Tatsachen sind jetzt an die Öffentlichkeit gelangt: Die Anzahl der Plätze in allen Gefängnissen und Straflagern der Sowjetunion beträgt 9 600 000, davon sind durchschnittlich sieben bis acht Millionen belegt. Außerdem gibt es viele Sträflinge, die ihre Strafzeit auf Baustellen und in Lagern verbüßen, das sind noch mal sechs bis sieben Millionen. Wenn diese Leute etwas gegen das Regime unternehmen, werden sie sofort ins Gefängnis zurückgebracht und müssen dort ihre Strafe noch einmal von vorne verbüßen. Die Kranken sitzen in Straflagern für Invaliden. Für Tuberkulosekranke gibt es die sogenannten Tuberkuloselager. Kinder von 12 bis 18 Jahren sind in speziellen Lagern fur Minderjährige untergebracht.

Alle Straflager in der Sowjetunion sind Betriebe mit Zwangsarbeit. In Moskau gibt es ein Automobilwerk, an das aus 32 Lagern die Einzelteile geliefert werden. So arbeitet fast die ganze sowjetische Industrie. Ohne diese Zwangsarbeit in Straflagern und Gefangnissen könnte die Sowjetwirtschaft nicht existieren. Schon aus diesem Grund ist eine allgemeine Amnestie in der UdSSR undenkbar.

DR: *Welche Hilfe würden Sie sich vom Westen wünschen?*

Makarenko: Je mehr Information über das, was in der Sowjetunion geschieht, hier verbreitet wir[illegible] desto besser. Außerdem kann westliche Hilfe darin bestehen, das System der Sowjetunion nicht noch zu unterstützen. Durch den Widerstand des Volkes ist die UdSSR ökonomisch weit zurückgeworfen. Aber wenn es dem Regime schlecht geht, kommen die westlichen Staaten zu Hilfe. Sie geben die westliche Technologie, wodurch streikende Arbeiter ersetzt werden können. Sie geben die Technik, die die Sowjetunion selbst nicht produziert.

Aber das schlimmste ist, daß sie dieses Regime legalisieren durch verschiedene Vereinbarungen, Abkommen und offizielle Verbindungen und damit, daß sie sich vor der Fernseh-Kamera küssen und umarmen und zusammen trinken. Dies alles geschieht, obwohl bekannt ist, daß das Sowjetregime mehr Verbrechen begangen hat als das Nazideutschland. Die westlichen Staaten sind jedoch der Meinung, durch diese Haltung würden sie zur Verwirklichung der Menschenrechte in der UdSSR beitragen und den sowjetischen Dissidenten helfen. So konnte die Sowjetunion vom Westen alles nehmen was sie wollte, einschließlich der Territorien, die die Sowjetunion besetzt hat. Die westlichen Staaten haben als Gegenleistung überhaupt nichts bekommen. Und die Straflager existieren und verbreiten sich. Deshalb betrachten wir die Position der westlichen Staaten als heuchlerisch. Auf diese Weise werden sie zu Komplizen des Sowjetregimes bei seinen Verbrechen und engagieren sich auf der Seite des Feindes. Vielleicht ist das nicht so angenehm zu hören, aber es ist grausame Wahrheit. Wir benötigen keine Hilfe von westlichen Staaten, aber wir sind dagegen, daß sie unseren Widerstand und unseren Kampf stören. Wenn der Westen das Sowjetsystem nicht unterstützt hätte, waren wir in unserem Kampf erfolgreicher.

DR: *Wir danken Ihnen, Herr Makarenko.*

Das Interview führte Gertrud Sauer.

ZEITBILD

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18/79 7

à propos Mensch

Heute — 5. 9. — nationaler Trauertag in der UdSSR

Ein Mensch, stellvertretend für unzählige in der Sowjetunion lebende und für ungezählte dort umgekommene Menschen, bittet: Gedenkt mit uns der System-Opfer! Entzündet mit uns Kerzen zu ihrem Gedächtnis!

In der letzten ZeitBild-Nummer wurde bereits darauf hingewiesen, wie seit 1972 zuerst politische Gefangene, dann zunehmend auch freie Sowjetbürger in Trauerfeiern am Vorabend und am Tag des 5. September die Opfer des sozialistisch-kommunistischen Systems ehren, die seit 1918 aufgrund des Dekrets über den «Roten Terror» umgekommen sind. Michail Makarenko schätzt sie auf *zehn-, elfmal mehr Menschen*, als dem Nazisystem zu liquidieren gelang; diese Grössenordnung deckt sich mit Solschenizyns Zahlenangaben. 60, vielleicht 67 Millionen Menschen.

Gedenkt ihrer mit uns! bittet Makarenko, bitten die gegenwärtigen Polithäftlinge und deren Angehörige uns heute. Diese Bitte heisst auch: Seid geschichtsbewusst! Für die Opfer verantwortlich ist das politische System des kommunistischen Totalitarismus, sind seine Träger, die indessen längst wie irgendwelche demokratisch gewählten Politiker behandelt werden ... Schuld ist das System, das keine Ehrfurcht vor dem Leben kennt.

Seit dem 5. 9. 1918 sind innerhalb der Grenzen der UdSSR «elf Schweizen» ausgerottet worden: das sind die Toten.

Am Tag der nationalen Trauer ist es aber auch angebracht, der hinterbliebenen, der überlebenden, der heute lebenden Opfer zu gedenken. Darunter sind weltanschauliche Gegner des Systems. Etwa der Biologe Dr. Sergej Kowaljow. «Dieser Gefangene der Politzone 36 (im Permer KZ) steht schon lange Zeit im Hungerstreik aus Protest gegen die von der Lageradministration angewandte Folter: kranke Häftlinge medizinisch *nicht behandeln zu lassen*.» (Chronicle of Human Rights in the USSR, New York, Nr. 33) «Anatolij gleicht jetzt einem Auschwitz-Häftling. Unsre Mutter erkannte ihn zuerst nicht ... Er hatte Mühe, zusammenhängend zu reden», so Schtscharanskijs Bruder nach einem Besuch im Tschistopoler Gefängnis am 6. 8. 1979 («Russkaja Mysl», Paris, 30. 8. 1979). «Für Teilnahme an einem Streik der Häftlinge im Permer Lager 35 wurden P. Ajrikjan und W. Lissowoj zunächst in den Karzer, danach ins Lagergefängnis gesperrt. I. Ogurzow sass 42 Tage im Karzer.» (Eine Meldung unter vielen im Informationsbulletin, Nr. 13—14/1979, das Dr. K. Ljubarskij in München redigiert.)

Aber zu den Opfern des Systems gehören *alle*, weil das System Freiheit wie Verantwortung nimmt.

Der Tag der nationalen Trauer ist natürlich keine KPdSU-Sache, eben nicht. Er ist Sache aller — zumindest innerlich — freien Menschen. *IITD*

ZEITBILD

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Michail Makarenko über eine Sowjetunion, die von ihrer Bevölkerung bestreikt wird

Ein Gespräch mit Michail Makarenko im Schweizerischen Ost-Institut

Der Westen als Streikbrecher

Ueber Michail Makarenko hat das ZeitBild mehrmals berichtet. Aus dem Samisdat. Damals, als Makarenko im Gefängnis von Wladimir oder im KZ sass. Er war als Galerieleiter in Sibirien ein Symbol für das (schon damals relative) «Tauwetter» gewesen. Dann wurde sein Fall zum Symptom für das Ende der Liberalisierung. Schliesslich blieb das Beispiel eines von vielen Opfern der alt-neuen Verfolgung.

Heute befindet sich der Exdirektor und Exhäftling im Westen. Wir haben ihn im SOI zu einem Gespräch getroffen und viele Auskünfte erhalten. Für heute bringen wir seine Antworten auf Fragen zum «politischen Komplex», wenn man so will. Die Worte tönen manchmal hart. Aber sie nehmen Bezug auf eine Wirklichkeit, deren Härte man immer noch unterschätzt.

ZB

Michail Makarenko

Michail Makarenko, Jahrgang 1931, kam als jüdisches Flüchtlingskind 1939 in die Sowjetunion. Nach der regulären Entlassung aus dem Kinderheim (zuvor war er auch schon ausgerissen) übte er viele werktätige Berufe aus. Durch die Armee kam er nach China und Korea; im Kriegsdienst wurde er verletzt und ausgezeichnet.

Als Jude (er trägt den ukrainischen Familiennamen seiner Frau) und als Systemzweifler hatte Makarenko immer wieder konkrete Schwierigkeiten, sowohl unter Stalin als auch unter Chruschtschow. Beruflich machte er seinen, häufig polizeilich unterbrochenen, Weg: vom Restaurator im Eremitage-Museum in Leningrad zum anerkannten Kunstexperten.

Vor zunehmender Diskriminierung und Verfolgung fand Makarenko 1965 in Sibirien eine Zuflucht. Die dortige Sektion der Akamedie der Wissenschaften berief ihn nach Nowosibirsk. Makarenko war in Nowosibirsk der Leiter einer «nonkonformistischen» Galerie, die 1968 in behördlicher Abkehr von der früheren «Tauwetter»-Politik zwangsgeschlossen wurde. Eine sowjetinterne Normalisierung und ein — damals nicht erkanntes — Omen für die bald darauf folgende Normalisierung nach aussen, durch die Besetzung der CSSR. Für die Abwürgung des aufkeimenden kulturellen Lebens nach den ersten drei Jahren der Breschnew-Aera war der Umgang mit Makarenko ein nachträglich ersichtliches Beispiel (ZB, Nr. 14 1974).

Makarenko war dann von 1969 bis 1977 politischer Häftling (ZB, Nr. 8/1978), und später konnten wir noch seine Ausreise in den Westen melden (Nr. 19/1978). In der Gefangenschaft hatte sich Makarenko mehrfach durch sein Einstehen für Mithäftlinge exponiert; er war unter anderem ein Zellengefährte von Kronid Ljubarskij (ZB, Nr. 23/1977).

Makarenko hat in der Sowjetunion den 5. September als Gedenktag eingeführt; am 5. September 1918 hatte Lenin seinen Ukas über den «roten Terror» erlassen.

Heute erinnert Makarenko im Westen daran, dass der Terror weitergeht. Auch räumlich. Und dass er nicht von selbst aufhören wird, sich auszudehnen.

Michail Makarenko, Sie sind als Judenbub aus Rumänien nach der UdSSR gekommen; sie tragen einen ukrainischen Namen, und Sie haben lange in Russland gelebt. Wie sehen Sie sich?

Ich bin der Mowgli von Kipling. Als Sohn orthodoxer Juden kam ich mit 8 Jahren in die Sowjetunion ins Kinderheim. Dort machte man mich zum Homo sovieticus. Wenn damals einer schlecht von Stalin geredet hätte, ich wäre dem Lästerer an die Gurgel gesprungen. Im Unterschied zu den meisten meiner Altersgefährten hatte ich bloss diesen Background. Keine Babushka, die mich auf den Gegensatz zwischen Sein und Schein vorbereitet hätte.

Um so grösser war der Schock, als ich mit 14 Jahren aus den Kinderheim herauskam, zur Arbeit in der Fabrik, in den Kolchosen. Da kollidierte die Wirklichkeit mit dem, was ich gelernt hatte. Ich sah um mich herum lauter doppelte Gesichter. Man lobte laut, was man leise verfluchte. Mich hatte man an das Doppelleben nicht angewöhnt. Meine Auflehnung dagegen bestimmte meine spätere Existenz.

Wie steht es denn heute mit dem Doppelleben? Haben sich die Leute an das Regime gewöhnt und finden es normal?

Sie haben sich vielmehr daran gewöhnt, es *nicht* normal zu finden. Ich gebe Ihnen ein Beispiel für das allgemeine Empfinden. Es gibt unter der Bevölkerung drei Hauptformeln der Beschimpfung, und sie sind auswechselbar: «Du verfluchter Faschist!», «Du verfluchter Päderast!» und «Du verfluchter Kommunist!». Das zeigt, was man «unten» von der Partei hält.

Und wie steht es mit «verfluchter Jude!» oder in den Randgebieten mit «verfluchter Russe!»?

Zunächst: das ist keine Parallele. Solche Beschimpfungen gelten den *tatsächlichen* Juden oder Russen. Die Faschisten-Päderasten-Kommunisten-Beschimpfung hingegen unterstellt nicht, dass einer *wirklich* den Ideen Hitlers anhänge, sich über Knaben hermache oder Parteimitglied sei. Vielmehr bedeutet sie: du bist das Letzte. Und was *dann* als Synonym herauskommt, das eben ist interessant zu sehen.

Aber nun zum Feindbild von Völkern. Wenn mir meine jüdische Abstimmung angelastet wurde, dann weit eher von den Behörden als von der Bevölkerung. Und was *«die Russen»* angeht: Man betrachtet sie, nicht zuletzt im Westen, wie mir scheint, häufig als Träger des Sowjetsystems, das seinerseits wiederum womöglich als Fortsetzung der «russischen Zarendiktatur» verstanden wird.

Solche Vorstellungen sind gleich mehrfach falsch. Die heutigen Machthaber sind sowenig «neue Zaren», wie die Hitleristen «neue Preussen» waren. Im Vergleich zur heutigen Gesellschaft war das alte Russland geradezu demokratisch. Dabei geht es nicht um eine blosse Steigerung. Russland und die Russen wurden durch das System ebenso vergewaltigt wie andere Nationen. Bei deren vermeintlicher Russifizierung handelt es sich zur Hauptsache um die gleiche Sowjetisierung, der auch die Russen zum Opfer gefallen sind.

Und sind sich die Russen dessen bewusst?

Oh, ja. Mein Eindruck ist es sogar, dass der

Mur. Makarenko

Hass auf das System bei den Russen am ausgeprägtesten ist. Aber in welcher genauen Aufteilung auch immer: die Bevölkerung der Sowjetunion erkennt stärker als je ihren Hauptfeind im System. Sie hat recht: es ist das eigentliche Monstrum. Orwell («1984») hat es grundsätzlich begriffen; nur reichte seine Phantasie nicht aus; die Wirklichkeit übertrifft sie.

Aber ein «1984», in dem das Verhältnis zwischen den Herrschenden und ihren Untertanen gestört wäre? Fühlen sich die Machthaber bedroht?

Wozu würden sie sonst den äussern Feind an die Wand malen? Gerade den Feind also, den sie gar nicht haben. Ihr Schrecken vor den ABC-Waffen ist ebenso geheuchelt wie ihre Sorge um SALT. Der Westen bedroht den sowjetischen Bestand ja nicht im geringsten; seit wann hätte der Wolf die Kriegserklärung des Schafes zu befürchten? Nein, der einzige Feind, der zählt, befindet sich im Innern. Er besteht aus den Millionen, die unter dem System gelitten haben und leiden.

Sind diese Millionen nicht eher wehrlose Opfer als Feinde? Können sie von sich aus etwas tun, wenn man ihnen nicht von aussen hilft?

Es mag seltsam tönen, aber vielleicht ist die Frage berechtigter, wenn man sie umkehrt. Was könnten die *Machthaber* noch tun, wenn man ihnen nicht von aussen her laufend unter die Arme greifen würde?

Gewiss: die Bevölkerung kann das Regime weder abwählen noch stürzen. Aber sie kann es durch Leistungsverweigerung sabotieren, und das tut sie in einem gewaltigen Ausmass.

Im Unterschied zum Westen hat die Sowjetunion alle Ressourcen, die sie benötigt, im Ueberfluss: von der Energie über die Rohstoffe bis zur Anbaufläche. Aber ihre Wirtschaftsproduktion ist armselig und kriselt bei allem technischen Fortschritt immer mehr.

Warum? Weil praktisch im gesamten Unionsgebiet sozusagen ein allgemeiner, wenn auch nicht deklarierter Streik stattfindet. Man arbeitet wenig, und man arbeitet schlecht. Das ist die Waffe der Leute: sie machen nicht mit.

Und in dieser Situation verhält sich der Westen als Streikbrecher. Mit seinen Lieferungen, vom

Getreide bis zur Technologie, hilft er den Unterdrückern gegen die Unterdrückten. Weiter überspielt das Regime seinen Bankrott im Innern durch eine Eroberungspolitik nach aussen, und man lässt sie ihm zu.

Demnach sehen Sie einen Zusammenhang zwischen der innern Lage der Sowjetunion und ihrer Expansion?

Ob... sie zum alleinigen Grund stempeln zu wollen, sehe ich sogar eine *Kausalität*. Beim Widerstand im Innern braucht es die Expansion um so mehr. Die landeseigene Produktionssteigerung kommt unter den Bedingungen eines allgemeinen Bummelstreiks zu teuer. Die Eroberungspolitik ist eine Alternative zur Systemüberwindung. Eine Scheinalternative, aber was bleibt den Systembewahrern anderes übrig, als sie immer weiter zu treiben?

Dienen die Eroberungen gleichzeitig dazu, die eigene Bevölkerung von ihrer Unzufriedenheit abzulenken?

In der Absicht schon, in der Wirkung nicht mehr. Die Leute sind es längst müde, für die Privilegien der oberen Schicht zu arbeiten. Und auf Beteiligung an Kriegsbeute hoffen sie nicht länger. Sie fürchten im Gegenteil eine zusätzliche Belastung aus der Sowjetisierung fremder Länder. «Jetzt haben wir noch einen mehr, den wir füttern müssen.» Das ist der Reflex. Man erhofft sich keinen Prosperitätsimport von dort, wohin man die sowjetischen Errungenschaften exportiert.

Der Mann an der Werkbank weiss, dass man ihm den Mehrwert seiner Arbeit abzweigt. Er will weder für die eigenen Herren noch für die fremden Sklaven schuften. Und schon gar nicht für den Sieg einer Idee, mit der ihn nichts verbindet ausser Zwang und Lügen.

Wie steht es mit der Armee?

In Afghanistan lässt man unter anderem 18—19jährige schiessen, Jungsoldaten ohne Lebenserfahrung. Man hat im Januar in der Nähe von Kabul 15 sowjetische Soldaten standrechtlich erschiessen müssen, die nicht töten wollten. Auch hat es einige Deserteure gegeben, die zu den Aufständischen geflüchtet sind. Für Afghanistan insgesamt ist das natürlich kein Trost.

Was bedeutet für Sie der Fall Afghanistan?

Einen Abschluss. Die Invasion war der letzte Akt im Drama. Wenn eine Nation mit der UdSSR «gemeinsame Interessen zum gegenseitigen Vorteil» feststellt, hat sie sich schon auf den Weg zu ihrem Untergang begeben. Sehe ich einen sowjetischen Bruderkuss, so sehe ich das Todesmal auf der Stirn des Geküssten.

Im Unterschied zu anderen Fällen sowjetischer Eroberungen in letzter Zeit hat der Westen auf den Fall Afghanistan wenigstens ansatzweise reagiert. Was halten Sie davon?

Für Afghanistan nichts mehr; das ist passiert, und die Pfiffe nach dem letzten Vorgang ändern nichts mehr daran.

Und sonst?

Sonst sind verweigerte Lieferungen von Weizen oder Technologie ein zeitweiliges Ausnahmeverhalten, statt das Normalverhalten zu sein. Ich wiederhole: Man verhält sich als Streikbrecher, wenn man der Sowjetunion solche Hilfe im *Normalfall* zukommen lässt. Und das andere: ein kooperierender Westen erleichtert die nächsten «Afghanistans» und beschreitet den Weg zu seiner eigenen Kapitulation. Aber die interimistischen Kollaborationseinschränkungen auf den abgeschlossenen Fall hin sind immer verspätet. Man kann sagen: Besser als gar nichts. Nur: was ist eine Polizeibusse nach einem Raubmord?

Man argumentiert im Westen häufig, dass man mit Boykottmassnahmen die sowjetischen Machthaber nur in ihrer Unterdrückung verhärte. So sei die Verbannung Sacharows im Zusammenhang mit der westlichen Reaktion auf Afghanistan erfolgt.

Die Unterdrückung der Dissidenten nimmt zu, ja. Aber deswegen, weil der Einfluss der Dissidenten auf die Bevölkerung zu gross geworden war. Im übrigen sind Dissidente keine Geiseln, deren Los man durch Eingehen auf die Forderungen der Geiselnehmer zu erleichtern hätte. Dissidente sind Wortführer einer streikenden Bevölkerung.

Was kann der Westen diesbezüglich tun?

Er hat drei Möglichkeiten zur Auswahl. 1. Er kann sich auf die Seite der Unterdrückten stellen. 2. Er kann sich neutral verhalten. 3. Er kann sich auf die Seite der Unterdrücker stellen.

Zum ersten: Niemand verlangt, dass der Westen den Unterdrückten etwa Waffen schickt oder dergleichen. Was sie brauchen, ist zuerst die Kenntnisnahme ihres Kampfes. Der Westen muss einsehen, dass die Bevölkerung nicht einverstanden ist und streikt. Und dann kann er für die Herrschaft der Mehrheit einstehen, in der Sowjetunion so gut wie in Afrika. *Zum zweiten:* Der Verzicht, im inneren Krieg der Sowjetunion einzugreifen, ist begreiflich. Und wenn diese Lösung schon nicht ideal ist, so sollte sie doch wenigsten durchführbar sein. *Zum dritten:* So lässt der Westen nicht nur die Bevölkerung in der UdSSR im Stich, sondern bereitet auch seine eigene Katastrophe vor.

Das Schlimme an der gegenwärtigen Situation besteht darin, dass der Westen nicht gewahrt, welche der drei Möglichkeiten er in seinem praktischen Verhalten bevorzugt. Er wähnt die Bevölkerung zu unterstützen, wenn er die Machthaber beliefert. Er wähnt dem Frieden zu dienen, wenn er der sowjetischen Kriegführung nicht vorbeugt. Er wähnt sich in Sicherheit, wenn er die sowjetischen Sicherheitsbestimmungen achtet. Oder er tut dergleichen.

Deshalb will ich es hier im Westen deutlich sagen: Ich betrachte mich als Sprecher der streikenden Bevölkerung. Und Streikende fühlen sich durch Streikbrecher verraten. ☒

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Translation (German)

Washington, D.C. 20540

Michael Makarenko

Michael Makarnko, born in 1931, came to the Soviet Union as a Jewish refugee child in 1939. After leaving the children's home at the expected age (though he had been expelled once earlier) he had several jobs. He came to China and Korea with the army, was injured during his military service and then decorated.

As a Jew (he has the name of his Ukrainian wife) and as a regime critic, Makarenko experienced severe difficulties again and again under Stalin as well as under Krushchev. Often interrupted by the police, he advanced in his professional field: from a restorer in the Hermitage Museum in Leningrad he became a recognized art expert.

Faced with the increasing discrimination and persecution, Makarenko found refuge in Siberia in 1965. The division of the Academy of Science there called him to Nowosibirsk. In Nowosibirsk, Makarenko was the director of a "non-conformist" gallery, closed in 1968 by force when the thaw policy came to an end. The domestic Soviet "normalization" was a foreboding - though not recognized as such at that time - of a normalization outwards to follow with the occupation ofCzechoslovakia, and the strangling of the nascent cultural life after three first years of the Brezhnev era. The dealing with Makarenko constitutes an additional example (ZB, No. 8/1978).

From 1969 to 1977 Makarenko was a political prisoner (ZB, No. 8/1978) and later we were able to announce his journey to the West (No. 19/1978). In captivity Makarenko dared to intervene on behalf of his co-prisoners; among other things he shared a cell with Kronid Ljubarskij (ZB, No. 23/1977).

Makarenko introduced the memorial day on the 5th of September in memory of September 5,1918 when Lenin issued a decree ordering "Red Terror."

Today Makarenko reminds us in the West that the terror is spreading and that it will not stop by itself.

Congressional Research Service
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Translation (German)

Washington, D.C. 20540

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A Conversation with Michael Makarenko
at the Swiss East-Institute

THE WEST AS STRIKEBREAKER

ZeitBild has written about Michael Makarenko several times from Samisdat at a time when Makarenko was in the Vladimir prison or in a concentration camp. As a director of an art gallery he was the symbol of the (already in those days slackening) "thawing." Then his case became the example of the numerous victims of old-new persecution.

Today the former director and ex-prisoner lives in the West. We met him at the Swiss East Institute for an interview and obtained much information. Today we publish his replies to our questions on the "political complex," so to say. The words sometimes sound harsh. But they refer to a reality whose harshness is underestimated.

Michael Makarenko, as a Jewish youngster, you came from Rumania to the USSR; you have a Ukranian name, and you lived in Russia for a long time. How do you consider yourself?

I am Kipling's Mowgli. As a son of orthodox Jews I went to the Soviet Union at the age of eight and into a children's home. There they made me into a Homo Sovieticus. Had anybody spoken badly about Stalin I would have jumped at the blasphemer's throat. Contrary to most of my contemporaries I had only this background. There was no grandmother, who would have prepared me to distinguish between reality and appearance.

The shock was all the more terrible, when at the age of 14, I left the children's home to work in a factory, and then on collective farms. There the reality clashed with what I had learned. I saw only hypocrites around me. They praised loudly what they hated secretly. I was not accustomed to hypocrisy. My rebellion, however, determined my later existence.

How is hypocrisy today? Have the people got accustomed to the regime and do they regard it as normal?

They got rather used to finding it not-normal. I'll give you an example of the general feeling. There are among the population three kinds of insults: "You damned Fascist!", "You damned raederast!" and "You damned Communist!"and they are interchangeable. This shows what the rank and file think of the Party.

And how is it with the "damned Jew!" and in the peripheral states with the "damned Russian?"

First of all, there is no parallel. Such insults are aimed at real Jews or real Russians. However, the insults directed to the Fascist, paederast or Communist do not intimate, on the contrary, that those against whom they are directed have really been supporters of Hitler's ideology, picked up boys or have been members of the party. Rather it means: you are the scum and whatever is used as a synonym makes the whole thing more interesting.

But now let us turn to the antagonistic picture of the nationalities. If I were disadvantaged because of my nationality this came rather from the government than from the population. And insofar as the "Russians" are concerned, they are not often regarded, not least in the West, as it appears to me, as the carriers of the Soviet system, which in turn is understood as the continuation of the Russian Czarist dictatorship. Such ideas are wrong on numerous accounts. The present day rulers are just as little "new Czars," as the Hitlerians "new Prussians." In comparison with the present day society, old Russia was really democratic. Here it is not a question of the degree of intensity. Russia and the Russians are as much abused by the system as the other nationalities. In their supposed Russification there is a question of the same Sovietization which made the Russians into victims.

Do you mean "1984" in which the relationship between the rulers and their subjects is disturbed? Do the rulers feel threatened? Why would they paint they external enemy on the wall?

An enemy who does not exist. Their fright of ABC weapons is a hypocrisy as their worry about SALT. The West does not threaten the existence of the Soviet Union in the least; since when has the wolf feared the declaration of war by a lamb? No, the only enemy who counts is to be found on the domestic level. It consists of those millions of citizens who suffered and still suffer under the system.

Are these millions defenseless victims rather than enemies? Can they undertake anything on their own, if they are not aided from outside?

It must sound strange, but the question is justified if we turn it around. What would the rulers do if we did not help them from outside? Of course, the population is unable to get rid of the regime through elections or tumble it. But it can sabotage through refusal to produce and this they do on a huge scale.

Contrary to the West, the Soviet Union has all the resources it needs, in excess: from energy and raw materials to arable land. But its economic production is miserable and is getting into a deeper and deeper crisis despite all the technological progress.

Why? Because in all the Soviet Union so-to-say there is a general though not declared strike in progress. They work little and they work poorly. This is the weapon of the people: they are not with the regime.

And in this situation the West acts as a strikebreaker. With its supplies from cereals to technology, it helps the oppressor against the oppressed. In addition, the regime covers up its bankruptcy on the domestic level through expansionist policy outwards, and the West allows them to do it.

Hence, you see a connection between the domestic situation in the Soviet Union and its expansionism?

Without intending to declare it as the general reason, I even see the causality in it. During the resistance on the domestic level it needs all the more expansionism outwards. The production increase on the domestic level is too expensive under the conditions of a general go-slow strike. The conquest policy is an alternative to surmounting the system. It is a pseudo-alternative, but is there any other thing left for the system maintainers than to continue with it?

Do the conquests serve at the same time to divert their own population from discontent?

Yes in intention, but not in effect. The people have been tired for a long time, to work for the privileges of the higher ranks. And they do not believe any longer in sharing the war booty. On the contrary, they fear an additional burden coming from the Sovietization of foreign countries. "Now we have one more to feed." This is the reflex. No prosperity imports are expected from where the Soviet achievements are exported.

The man at his workbench knows that more value of his work is taken away. He does not want to drudge either for his own rulers or for foreign slaves. Not to speak about the victory of an idea with which he has nothing in common except coercion and lies.

How is it with the Army?

In Afghanistan they let 18 to 19 year olds be killed. Young soldiers without life experience. On January 15, Soviet soldiers in the vicinity of Kabul had to be executed by order of a court martial because they did not want to kill. There have been some runaways, who fled to the Afghanistan rebels. This is not a consolation for Afghanistan.

What meaning does the Afghanistan case have for you?

It is an end. The invasion was the last act of a tragedy. When a nation detects "a common interest for mutual benefit" with the Soviet Union, it is already on its way to perdition. When I see the Soviet brotherly kiss, I see at the same time the sign of death on the forehead of the kissed.

Contrary to other cases of Soviet conquests in recent years the West reacted at least in the beginning. What do you think about it?

Nothing came out of it for Afghanistan; this is too late and the protest whistling for the last event does not change anything.

And otherwise?

Otherwise, the refusal to supply wheat and technology is a temporary exceptional stance instead of a normal stance. I repeat: they behave as strikebreakers, when they provide such assistance in normal case. And something more: the cooperating West makes the " next Afghanistan" easy and hampers the road to its own capitulation. But the intermittent cooperation restrictions after the fait accomplit are always too late. We can say: Better than nothing. But what does a police car mean after murder during robbery?

One argues often in the West, that boycott measures would drive the Soviet rules to harsher measures of oppression. Thus, Sacharow's deportation took place as the effect of a Western reaction to Afghanistan.

Yes, the oppression of dissidents is on the increase. This because, the influence of dissidents on the population has become too big. Besides the dissidents are not hostages whose fate can be alleviated by acceeding to the requests of the hostage takers. The dissidents are the spokesmen of the striking population.

What can the West do in this respect?

It has a choice of three possibilities.1)It can place itself at the side of the oppressed; 2) it can take a neutral stance; 3) it can stand on the side of the oppressors.

Insofar as the first is concerned: Nobody is asking the West to send weapons to the oppressed or something similar. What they need is first to be aware of their struggle. The West must understand that the population does not agree and is on strike. And then it can intervene in favor of the majority in the Soviet Union as well as in Africa.

Second: the refusal to intervene in the Soviet domestic war is understandable. And even if this solution is not a/ideal one, it should be feasible.

Third: In this way, not only does the West abandon the Soviet population but it prepares its own disaster.

The worst thing in the present situation is, that the West does not discern which of the three posibtilities it should prefer in its practical behavior. It chooses to support the population when it sends supplies to the rulers. It chooses to serve peace when it does not prevent the Soviet warfare. It chooses security when it pays attention to the Soviet definition of security. Or acts similarly.

For this reason, I will say here in the West quite clearly: I regard myself here as the spokesman of the striking population. And the striking people feel themselves betrayed by the strikebreakers.

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Kommt die Post?

Die vielschichtigen Postdienste in der UdSSR (Seite 2)

Mein Postkrieg 2
Michail Makarenko über den Umgang mit der sowjetischen Briefzensur

Gefangene haben das Recht, sich wegen schlechter Behandlung und Ungesetzlichkeiten zu beschweren. Nur nützt das praktisch wenig, wenn man sich an den Instanzenweg hält. Die Beschwerden bleiben dann de facto im gleichen Apparat, der für die Ungesetzlichkeiten selber verantwortlich ist, und er entscheidet letztlich in eigener Sache.

Aufklärung für Talmi-Sowjets

Das gilt auch für Beschwerden oder Meldungen, die man an den Obersten Sowjet richtet. Die Abgeordneten erhalten sie gar nicht zu Gesicht. Im Namen der zuständigen Kommission wird die Angelegenheit von einem Büro behandelt, das unter KGB-Kontrolle steht, und alles bleibt im Kreislauf des Sicherheitsdienstes. Auch unter diesen Umständen ist eine Reklamation besser als keine, aber ein direkter Nutzwert ist nicht zu erwarten.

So ist man auf eine bessere Methode gekommen. Häftlinge oder deren Angehörige und Bekannte schreiben an Abgeordnete persönlich, um sie über die Bedingungen in Gefängnis und Lager zu orientieren. Man schreibt ihnen nicht an ihren Amtssitz, sondern an ihre persönliche Wohnadresse und zwar unter Weglassung ihres amtlichen Titels, womöglich in familiärer Schreibweise ihres Vornamens, z. B. Wanja (statt Iwan) Iwanow

Ist das wirklich so etwas anderes? Der Oberste Sowjet hat doch die Beschlüsse des Apparats abzusegnen. Seine Mitglieder gehören ihm entweder selber an, oder sie sind mit ihrer Komplizenrolle von vornherein einverstanden. Was ist da Ihre persönliche Anrufung wert?

Von der Frage nach der jeweiligen Person abgesehen, vielleicht mehr, als Sie meinen.

Die Uebung erhält ihren eigentlichen Sinn dadurch, dass es sich lange nicht bei allen Mitgliedern des Obersten Sowjets um Apparatschiki handelt. 40 bis 50 Prozent von ihnen wissen so gut wie nichts von dem, was der Apparat mit ihrer Zustimmung macht. Das sind die Leute, die man aus Rücksicht auf die gewünschte soziale Zusammensetzung des Obersten Sowjets als Alibifiguren hineingenommen hat: Vorarbeiter, Verkaufsangestellte, Melkerinnen ... Wenn man ihnen die politische Verfolgung schildert, ist das für sie und oft für ihre Familie eine echte Aufklärung.

Auf diese Art verbreitet man sozusagen legalisierte Flugblätter: nach Möglichkeit auch eingeschrieben und mit Rückschein. Nicht nur wegen der Empfangskontrolle an sich. Es geht zusätzlich noch um den Beleg, dass diese Leute orientiert sind; sie sollen dereinst nicht auf Unkenntnis plädieren können.

Allerdings gibt sich das KGB besondere Mühe, solche Briefe abzufangen.

Was nebenbei zeigt, dass es wirklich etwas anderes ist ... Aber wenn es schon darauf ankommt: Ist die Postzensur denn nicht imstande, alle missliebigen Briefe aufzufangen, ausnahmslos?

Das ist ganz einfach eine Frage von Aufwand und Ertrag. Es gibt in der UdSSR jährlich 6 Milliarden reguläre Postsendungen (gut 20 pro Jahr und Einwohner), da ist die totale Kontrolle entsprechend schwer.

Die Zahlen beziehen sich wohlverstanden auf die öffentliche, auf die «normale» Post.

Michail Makarenko über den Umgang mit der sowjetischen Briefzensur

Mein Postkrieg

In der vorletzten Nummer hatte Michail Makarenko gesagt, was sowjetische Dissidente von einem Westen denken, der sich ihrem Kampf gegenüber als Streikbrecher verhält. Heute lassen wir Makarenko über einen sozusagen technischen Komplex zu Wort kommen. Er hat uns im Gespräch im SOI erzählt, wie er hier im Westen postalisch mit den Sowjetbehörden umgeht und wie sich das Briefproblem in der UdSSR selbst stellt, zum Beispiel für Polltgefangene oder deren Angehörige und Freunde. Und schliesslich andersherum auch für das KGB.

Michail Makarenko, haben Sie Kontakte mit Ihren Freunden in der UdSSR?

Sehr gute Kontakte. Ich lebe heute in der BRD. Von dort aus kann ich innerhalb von zwei bis vier Wochen brieflich Informationen in die UdSSR bringen und innerhalb des gleichen Zeitraums im Austausch auch Informationen aus der UdSSR zurückerhalten. Das funktioniert auch mit kleineren Paketen.

Das lässt sich ohne weiteres bewerkstelligen?

Nein, nicht ohne weiteres. Seit einem Jahr führe ich hier im Westen meinen «Postkrieg» gegen die UdSSR. Die Grundlage bilden internationale postalische Vereinbarungen, welche die UdSSR unterschrieben hat. Und weil die sowjetischen Behörden sich nicht von selber an ihre Verpflichtungen halten, geht es konkret darum, wie man ihnen nachhelfen kann.

Das wichtigste Instrument hierbei sind die Sendungen, die man im zwischenstaatlichen Verkehr mit einem Rückschein aufgeben kann. Der Absender hat dann ein Anrecht darauf, die Empfangsbestätigung mit der Unterschrift des Adressaten zurückzuerhalten. Wenn das nicht klappt, ist die Post des Empfangslandes zu einer Entschädigung verpflichtet, die man via Post des Aufgeberlandes einfordern muss. Ich habe meinen Postkrieg unter mühsamen Bedingungen angefangen; heute beginnt er Dividenden abzuwerfen.

Weil man Ihre Briefe jetzt zustellt, oder weil man sie vergütet?

Teils, teils. Die Zustellung eines bestimmten Briefes kann man nicht garantieren. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass man in der UdSSR einen Brief von einem Renegaten unterschlägt, ist nach wie vor gross.

Um dagegen anzukämpfen, gibt es eine zusätzliche Methode: die Massenauflage. Wenn ich einem Freund schreibe, stelle ich 100 Xerox-Kopien her und verschicke sie gleichzeitig an andere Bekannte, immer eingeschrieben und mit Rückschein versehen. Ich schätze, dass 20 bis 30 Prozent der Briefe ihren Adressaten erreichen.

Von selbst läuft auch sonst nichts. So muss man sich gegen die Möglichkeit vorsehen, dass die Zensur die Empfangsbestätigung fälscht. Dagegen habe ich mich gerüstet mit einer Sammlung echter Unterschriften von meinen Freunden. Allmählich entsteht auch eine Sammlung von gefälschten Unterschriften auf den Rückscheinen. Wenn ich eine neue Fälschung feststelle, reklamiere ich bei der Bundespost. Eine langwierige Sache, aber man muss sie durchstehen.

Wie steht es mit den Briefen an politische Gefangene?

Natürlich ist nicht zu erwarten, dass ihnen die Gefängnisverwaltung einen Brief mit politischer Information aushändigt. Aber trotzdem kann man ihnen mit postalischen Mitteln helfen. Häftlinge leiden an Hunger und müssen ihre Lebensmittelration durch Käufe vom Gefängniskiosk ergänzen. Dazu brauchen sie Geld. Ihnen hilft man durch die Zustellung von informativ völlig belanglosen Ansichtskarten, die aber in der UdSSR gefragt sind. So gibt es im Westen die sogenannten «Stereo-Karten», und solche werden den Gefangenen von den Aufsehern gerne abgekauft; man zahlt tatsächlich bis zu fünf Rubel dafür.

Und worüber können die Häftlinge ihrerseits schreiben?

Jeder Brief
in
Massenauflage

Der GSP, die Parallelpost

Dann gibt es also noch eine andere. Was ist mit ihr?

Vom sowjetischen Postwesen ist die der westlichen PTT vergleichbare «Potschta SSSR» der nach aussen sichtbare, offene Teil. Aber der kleinere. Daneben und dahinter gibt es den Staatspostdienst, den GSP. Er ist der Oeffentlichkeit entzogen. Als diskreter Parallelbetrieb ist seine Organisation in jedes Postamt eingebaut und verfügt darüber hinaus über zusätzliche eigene Aemter.

Die Hauptaufgabe des GSP besteht darin, den Postverkehr zwischen staatlichen Instanzen sicherzustellen. Hierzu werden die 300 000 regulären Briefträger nicht benötigt. Man hat einen separaten Austragungsdienst mit bewachten Autos. Die Postsäcke sind mit Sicherheitsschlössern versehen. Jeder Wechsel zwischen den Boten wird quittiert, und die Postsache wird dem Empfänger nur gegen Unterschrift ausgehändigt.

Eine parallele Organisation regelt den Postverkehr zwischen Armeedienststellen. KGB und Innenministerium haben ihren eigenen Kurierdienst. Was die Soldatenpost angeht, so gelangt sie am Ende durch die reguläre Post zu den Angehörigen, aber ohne den Stempel der zuständigen Armeeprüfstelle wird sie schon gar nicht weitergeleitet.

Was der GSP quantitativ bewältigt, ist fast nicht vorstellbar. Ein Beispiel aus der Sowjetpresse? Der Direktor eines Bergwerks im Donbass erhält 12 000 GSP-Sachen pro Jahr. Im Schnitt also vielleicht sechs dieser extra-wichtigen Sendungen pro Arbeitsstunde. Nicht zu bewältigen. So kommen die Instanzen der staatlichen Bürokratie einander in die Quere. Und dann wundern sich Minister in Reden und «Prawda»-Artikeln darüber, dass man ihre Anordnungen und Vorkehrungen missachtet habe, obwohl sie den Verantwortlichen zur Kenntnis gebracht worden seien.

Und der ganze bürokratische Aufwand in einem abgeschirmten Verteilersystem ... Ist das der Reflex? Alles zur Geheimsache machen, was nicht zur Veröffentlichung bestimmt ist?

Es gibt auch konkrete Angst vor dem Entdecktwerden. Das Maximum an Sicherheitsbestimmungen gilt der Korrespondenz von KGB-Stellen. Das ist soweit natürlich. Aber es geht bis zur Groteske. Ich kann Ihnen das an einem Beispiel aus meiner eigenen Erfahrung zeigen.

Im Gefängnis von Wladimir schrieb ich zahlreiche Beschwerden, und eines Tages war eine Antwort vom Büro des stellvertretenden KGB-Chefs eingetroffen. Aber man dachte nicht daran, sie mir etwa auszuhändigen.

Man führte mich in die Spezialabteilung, in einen geschlossenen Raum. Dort erwarteten mich der zuständige KGB-Funktionär des Gefängnisses und ein Zeuge. Der Beamte schrieb feierlich die Uhrzeit auf. Dann produzierte er den Brief, der übers Kreuz zugenäht war. Dann öffnete er ihn. Dann las er ihn vor.

Als dieses Prozedere vorüber war, sollte ich mit meiner Unterschrift den Empfang der Antwort bestätigen. Dazu legte man mir das Schreiben auf den Tisch vor und deckte den gesamten Text ab. Frei blieb nur die Stelle weissen Papiers, auf der ich meinen Namen hinsetzen sollte, neben dem mir verborgenen Absender.

Nun tat ich das, was politische Gefangene in solchen Situationen grundsätzlich tun sollten: ich weigerte mich. Wenn ich schon einen Text gegenzeichnen solle, müsse ich ihn schon mit eigenen Augen lesen, und wer mir garantiere, dass ich da

Ein Brief an mich vom KGB

nicht zum Beispiel mein eigenes Todesurteil unterschreibe?

Und siehe da: Man gab mir den Text zu lesen. Unten war der Absender vermerkt, aber leider nur als Funktionsbeschreibung ohne Namen. Gut, ich unterschrieb. Dann nahm ich das Blatt, wie um es zurückzureichen, in die Hand und kehrte es schnell um. Auf der Rückseite stand es: «Ausgeführt von Major X.Y. in einem Exemplar. An den Absender zurückschicken.»

Ich hatte wieder eine Information für meine Zusammenstellung von einer Art Who is Who der Organe. ◻

Abgeordnete des Obersten Sowjets: Für Dissidenten dann ... ansprechbar, wenn sie nur Aushängeschilder und keine Apparatschiki sind.

עסק לכל החיים

מאת ישראל שמיר

קריית המדע בסיביר היא העיר המשונה בעולם: הגלריה של מיכאל מקרנקו בתוך הקרייה הזאת היתה אוסף התמונות התמוה ביותר ברוסיה: ומיכאל, יהודי שמנמן בעל זקן פטריארכי, הוא מהאנשים המיוזרים בתבל. עכשיו הגיע לביקור בארץ.

יכאל מקרנקו הוא יהודי שמנמן בעל

זקן של סטריארך יהודי, פיניו כחולות. הוא נראה כסוהר זיע או כסוחר עשיר את האצ־טלה. הוא יודע לכל העוקבים אחר מתנגדי־המשטר ברוסיה. על מעילות זו נידון ל־11 שנות מאסר מתוך 49 שנות חייו, מיכאל מקרנקו נהפך לאגדה בין יהודיי, ולא בשל שנות יסוריו במחנות. גם לפני־כן סופרו עליו אגדות.

פגשתי את מקרנקו בראשונה לפני תריסר שנים. אז היה בשיא הצלחתו. תמונות של רמברנדט וגויה (כמובן, מקוריות) היו תלויות על קירות ביתו לפני השער הנהה לימוזינה שחורה, ובה ישב הגבר הצנום של מקרנקו. צלצל בטלפון: „ליונית, זה אתה?" שאל מיכאל מקרנקו, ומ־התלחשות האורחים הבינותי כי ליונית אינו אלא לראוניד ברז׳ניב, המזכיר הראשון של הוועד המרכזי. זה התרחש במקום מסונה: קריית־המדע בסיביר, ליד נובוסיבירסק. מיכאל היה מנהל הגלריה המסונה ביותר ברוסיה.

הכל היה מסונה בקריית המדע הסיבירית כשנות השישים. קריה זו נועדה לרכז מדענים דגולים במקום פרחוח ולתת להם מידת חופש שלא ידעו כדוגמתה ברוסיה. כמו פיטר הגדול, שבנה הרחק ממוסקווה הישנה את בירתו החדשה האירופית — „אתונה של הצפון" — (פטרבורג ולאחר־מכן לניגראד) כך, החלים חרושצוב לבנות את ברקלי של המזרח בלב סיביר. בקריה גרו 30,000 מדענים וסטודנטים בבדידות מזהרת. אנשי השירותים שוכנו בריחוק כמה קילומטרים ממם, כדי שלא יקלקלו את איכות הגוף האנושי ולא יתקלקלו בעצמם מהצפתם של המדענים. הכל בקריה היה הטוב ביותר: אוניברסיטה קט־נה, אך מעולה; בית־ספר מיוחד לילדים מחוננים, שכאשר אליו בני־נוער בכל בריה״מ; מכון למיסיקה גרעינית, המתקדם ביותר במדינה; וגם גלריה לאמנות, שאנשי מוסקווה יכלו רק לחלום עליה.

מדענים רוסים דגולים, „אבות" של מצצות וטילים סובייטיים, היו יוצאים לחסוב עצים ביער, להסקת התנו־רים בבתיהם — בתי איכרים סיבירים מצויים. אחר־כך היו גולשים בסקי אל מכון הפיסיקה הגרעינית ולשאר מכוני המדע. לעסוק בפלזמה ובגנטיקה. בערב היו נאס־פים במועדון ומתווכחים על קיברנטיקה ותורת־הביערכות האמורה לגאול במהרה את האנושות ולפתור בעיות של ממשלים כושלים. הסכנוקרטיה הצעירה של קריית המדע סברה לתומה כי תקבל לידיה את השלטון במדינה, בבוא היום. ובינתיים היו מסתפקים בשיחות גלויות־לב בכל נושא שבעולם. בקריה הונהג חופש דיבור — תמורת הישגים מדעיים. זה היה סיב הצפקה; המפלגה ויתרה מראש על כל מערכת ההקפדה, המקובלת ברוסיה, כדי ליהנות מפרי ההישגים המדעיים. כאשר תפס ברז׳ניב את השלטון בברית־המועצות, חשקו רבים בקריה כי תם עידן החופש, אך עד מהרה נוכחו לדעת שכום־דבר לא נשתנה. או נפוצה ההלצה: לנין הראה כיצד יש לשלוט; סטלין — כיצד אין לשלוט; חרושצוב — שכל אחד יכול לשלוט. וברז׳ניב — שאפשר גם לא לשלוט כלל. בשנים הראשו־נות לשלטון ברז׳ניב נפגש רק אחד מתושבי הקריה ונודע „תוך 24 שעות" מביתו ומעבודתו. כולם מתאו כי: האיש נורש כי פגע בסנאים. הסנאים היו לסימו־הזיהר של הקריה: בעל־חיים זה הוא הנפוץ ביותר ביערות סיביר. הסנאים שרצו בכמויות גדולות בתוך הקריה, הם היו ניגשים אל בני־האדם, בימי החורף, ומבקשים אוכל, כמו חתולים.

בקריה היו יהודים רבים, חלקם בני סיביר, חלקם באו ממערב הארץ, כיוון ששמעו על החופש, על אפשרויות ההתקדמות, ללא אפליה ובלי אנטישמיות. בסיביר לא הי־תה אנטישמיות מעולם כמעי שהיהודים בה היו מעטים מאד. בדרך־כלל הרגישו היהודים בקריה, כמעי שכם היו שיקולים עניניים בלבד. היהודי בתיכר היה ראש המכון לפיסיקה גרעינית. ובכל שאר המכונים היו יהודים עמדות־מפתח. מסירות היהודים לעניין המשותף לא עמדה לזכותם בסופו־של־דבר. בשנות השבעים עתי־דים השלטונות הסובייטים לרלל את הקריה מיהודים — ותאשימום כי עשו יד אחת להגשמת מטרותיהם. אך כאן מדובר עדיין בתקופה מוקדמת יותר.

התדמית היהודית בקריית המדע ובסיביר בכלל היתה שונה מן התדמית המקובלת בתפוצות אחרות. למשל, הוולקנולוג שפרנברג, איש ללא־חת, שסופר עליו כי ירד לתוך לוע של הר גשש בעת התפרצות. בין יהודי סיביר, ניבורי־חיל היה גם מיכאל מקרנקו, שהגיע לקריה בשנת 1966. הוא נתת על קריית המדע נחיתת פתע. לא ידענו מי הוא, רק מסיפורים שמענו עליו. היו שקשרו אותו עם האצולה הרוסית; אחדים עשוהו לידידו הנוהיק של ברז׳ניב. מכל־מקום, הוא הביא אתו מתת־מלכים לקריה: יחתר מאלפים תמונות־שמן של ציירים רוסיים מן המאות ה־18 וה־19 נתן האיש במתנה לקריית המדע, לשם פתיחת גלריה לאמנות, שהוא התמנה למנהלה. חיים קסומים היו למיכאל מקרנקו: מכונית־שרד, סיסות למוס־קווה, שיחות טלפוניות עם קרמלין. אף ראשי הקריה, וביניהם לוורנטייב חבר הועד המרכזי, חשקו ממנו וניסו לדובבו: מה הניעו לבוא? האם נשלח עם משימה חשאית מטעם ברז׳ניב עצמו לבדוק מה עושים המדענים בסיביר?

מיכאל הצניע את עצמו והכחיש את השמועות. זה ליבה את הסקרנות ביתר שאת.

כולם הסיקו שאיש חשוב בא לקריה. על־פי התקנים, לא היה צריך לקבל מכונית־שרד. אך מיכאל לקח את מכונית־השרד המפוארת, היחידה בסינה, של ראש הקריה, חבר הועד המרכזי של המפלגה וחבר האקדמיה למדע, לוורנטייב. ראינו את המכונית עוברת על־פני העיר נובוסיבירסק, בה וילונות סגורים. השוטרים סינו לה את הדרך וחסמו למענה כל מבוצה בעיר. לוורנטייב אמנם תרק שיניים אך עמד ביסורי טילת־המכונית וקיבלם באה־בה. גם הוא, גם השוטרים, וכולם ידעו: איש לא יקח דבר שאינו וכאי לו. אם לקח מיכאל, מנהל הגלריה, מכונית־שרד, ואם הוא מתנהג כנציגו של ברז׳ניב — כנראה מגיע לו.

ואם יש ספקות בלבו של מישהו יכול כל אחד מאתנו לראות את התוכחת העגולה של הועד המרכזי של המפלגת הקומוניסטית הסובייטית, המאשרת את נסיעת החבר מי־כאל בתפקיד למוסקווה.

החותמת

אף־על־פי־כן, הכל היה תרמית ואחיזת

עיניים. מיכאל לא פגש מימיו את ברז׳ניב, לא ביקר בוועד המרכזי של המפלגה, אלא שיחק פוקר גדול בפנים חתומות. „אבל החותמת — החותמת היתה? אני שואל אותו עכשיו. והוא מסביר: לקבל חותמת — זה דבר פשוט. אני נכנס למשרד הוועד המרכזי ומניח להם תעודה של קריית המדע ובה כתוב, על־פי בקשתי: נשלח לוועד המרכזי. הפקיד בוועד המרכזי אינו יכול לדעת את כל המוזמנים לשם, וזה גם לא בתפקידו. הוא רק שם חותמת, כאיכור לכך שהאיש באמת הגיע".

„ותעודת קריית המדע?" אני שואל.

„נותנים בקלות — צריך רק להגיד שצלצלו ממש־קווה והזמינו אותך לוועד המרכזי, על־פי ענינים, אילו סיקרתי, הייתי תוזר עם התעודה בלי חותמת של המוסד המזמין. כלומר, של הוועד המרכזי. אין זה מתפקידם לב־דוק אם באמת הזמינו אותי, החותמת היתה מספקת כהוכחה".

כך עשה לו מיכאל שם בקריה. ראש הקריה התרשם עמו בתקוה שיוכירו לשובת בפגישתו הבאה עם ידידו ברז׳ניב. המכונית עמדה לרשותו, כבוד גדול ניתן לו. שאיפותיו של מיכאל היו הרבה מעבר למכונית־שרד וני־נוני כבוד. הוא תבנן, וגם ביצע בלוף גדול בהרבה מזה: הוא ארגן ופתח בגלריה שלו בקריה תערוכות ציירים דגולים, שעבודותיהם נאסרו להצגה בברית־המועצות.

שני האבות של האמנות הרוסית הבן־קונפורמיסטית שהשפעתם רבה בשנות השישים והשבעים הם סילונוב ושלק. שני ציירים, אלת חיפשו אמנות חדשה בימי הרא־שונים של השלטון הסובייטי. עד היום הזה השפעתם מכ־רעת על רוב האמנים הרוסים החדשים. אף כי מעטים מהם ראו בעיו את תמונותיהם של השניים. כל תמונה של סילונוב ושלק שהיתה בידי אדם פרטי במוסקווה, היה לה

הגון של שוחרי-אמנות המבקשים לרשותה. כל משכיל רוסי בשנות השישים רצה בעיקר ארבעה דברים: לקרוא את טולנציין, לשמוע שירים של גאליץ' וזקוניאוה, לר-אות את תמונותיהם של פלק ושילונוב ולקבל דירה. מיכאל פיסק את מחצית תאוותם.

בגלריה של הטרטיה למדע, בקויזה של נובסיבירסק, במקום מכובד למדי תלה קבל עם ועדה את תמונותיהם האסורות של פלק ושילונוב.

רובצוב פלק יודע במעוד יותר משילונוב. והוא היה ידידו הטוב של סר שאגל, הם אף גרו יחדיו בפריס, עד שבשנת 1937 החליטו לחזור לארץ הסוציאליזם המנצח. ברגע האחרון נמלך שגאל בדעתו לשווא, ואילו פלק (יחד עם חברים נתן אלטמן) חזר לרוסיה. עד כמה הבין את שעתו. הוא המתיר בביתו חשב שנים בשקט. בדרך-כלל לא-נאסר. אילית ארנבורג האחרים היו מביאים לו שוכל לביתו, וכך חי. כמובן, תמונותיו לא הוצגו ברוסיה של סטלין. רק מעטים שמעו עליו. בפרסום זכה ועדות לניקיטה חרושצ-צוב. בימי ההפשרה, בשנת 1963, בתערוכת אמנים במוס-קווה הוצגו שתי תמונות של פלק: „ירחים", ו„חשוחי-אדשרי". אנשי התרבות הרשמית שליחו את חרושצוב הצביעו על תמונות אלו בזעם: „בך מתאר פלק זה את נשותינו! בך מתאר פלק זה את ילדים הסובייטים — רק חשוחי-אדמה, כלי שום-דבר אחר". חרושצוב השתכנע בזעם גם הוא. ולך חרושצוב את נעלו המפור-סמת, זו הנעל ההיסטורית שהכה בה על השולחן באו"ם, והטיל אותה בתמונה האומללה עם חשוחי-האדמה. בו-במקום נעים פלק לעם-דבר ואותה תמונה נמכרה בפחיד גבוה מאד. תערוכתו הציבית הראשונה של פלק היתה בנוסקווה, בפתיח 1965. שם הוצגו 80 תמונות, שבחרו אנשי-תרבות רשמית לפי טעמם חרשותיהם. ואף-על-פי-כן, ריבים עמדו בתור לילות על לילות, כדי לזכות ולהיכנס לתערוכה.

תערוכת פלק בקויזה המדע בסיביר נפתחה ביוצאר 1966, ובה הוצגו 200 תמונות שלו. ואילו תמונות ! מיכאל מקרנקו סיכר את השוטף הגדול שנשאר אצל אלטמן של פלק וגילה כי האלכנה פתבייטת בתמונות ה„לא ישות" של בעלה: „הוא צייר כל מיני יהדויות זקנות" סענה. תמונות אלו „הלא-ישות" הן העבודות הציקויות של פלק, כפי שנוכחו לדעת אחרי התערוכה בקויזה המדע. כיום אסור לראות תבונות של פלק אפילו בגלריה לאמנות במוסקווה.

פול פילונוב היה בשעתו אמן בזורות המהפכה. היה זה אדם מוזר. הוא לא היה מקובל לשני מחפכת אוקטובר יותר מאשר אחריה. בתחילת דרכו היה דחי ואף עלה לרגל לירושלים. הוא צייר לפרנסתו. בימי המהפכה נשאה קופי-סר, אך ועד זמן קצר נאספו תבונותיו להצגה, כבלתי-מתאימות לזרם הריאליזם הסוציאליסטי. כאשר דיבר בהצגת תערוכה שלו בזוייל, התנגד לכך פילונוב: „תערו-כתי הראשונה תהיה ברוסיה הסובייטית. תערוכתו הרא-שונה היתה בקויזת המדע.

הקטלוג שפרסכה הגלריה הזמין על-ידי הקב"ב וה-פותקים שנתחרו סקלים בוהב במוסקווה עד היום.

בעקבות שני אמנים אלה, הציג מיכאל גם תערוכות של גריבייך' ושל ליסיצקי (כמה תמונות של ליסיצקי, תלמידו המחמרד של שגאל, אשכר לראות במוזיאון ת"א). גם אמנים אלה היו אסורים בהצגה.

„איך הרשו לך דברים כאלה ז'- אני שואל את מיכאל עכשיו.

„הם היו סבורים כאם אני עושה זאת, סימן שהקרמלין רוצה בכך".

באותם ימים רושקים בקויזת המדע, שמרנו שמורי-פה בגלריה של מיכאל, ורואינו תמונות שהובנו כי לא נזכה לראות לעולם. כל הטיסטוריה של האמנות הרוסית הס-תגתה בעיניגו וקיבלה עקביות והמשכיות.

הנפילה

ב אמצע המאה ה-19 ביקר בפאריס סופר רוסי ושמו פלשקוב-כצרוזיק. כשהיה כותב יומן על מסכת פלוני הלמה דמה כיצואתנו סופרי בשפתו הרוסי לפרוסיות. אך הפופר הרוסי סרב ואמר: „הא לכאי סופר לא יהיה מקץ לקרוא הפרוסיות, כי בפרוסיה של המאה ה-19 קץ בפרוסיות של המאה ה-14". אכן, עד היום הזה בפרוסיה של היום יש לקץ פרוסיות פאר בעיני בן הפשרב: כפרים מפוארים בפרוסיות-פרוסיה, כפולין לא הכניע בפרוסיות את הפשרב פרוסיה מקלישים פרוסיים לפרוסיה, כפולין אין מקלישים בפולין, ופרוסיים של המאה ה-20 אי-פפרוסיה לפרוסיות אלא רק פפרוסיה אחת — בקרוסיות הפרוסיה של ביסמארק.

שרש הפרוסיות של פרוסיה-הפרוסיות בפרוסיה הכפרית, לפרוסיה פרוסיה אחרת אך לפרוסיה הקלישאית: „כאשר הוא ציין בגודל אך בפרוסיה יש הבטוח פרוסים בפולים כפרוסיה. ואין לנו פקום לפרוסיות לפולים פפרוסיות. אם פפרוסיה לפפפרוסיה, מה יהיו הפרוסיים הפרוסיים? תהי יכפפר פלי-פרי".

בתוך הפרוסיה, ולמה פיסאל פפרוסים פפרוסיה-פרוסיה כעין של פיסאל — אלא ציירים כציירי לפני האשה את הפיסאל, הפרוסיות הן אצל קהנים רוחיים של פיסאל, פולים כבתוך בתוך כל קשר עם הציור. „אל תעביר את שני, כי אוהבים לפפלו'ד הפרוסיה אחותו הפיסה של פיסאל, כעות בלעדיה. היא רוצה פפפר, שפה יפלה פיסאל את הפיר — פיים לה את פיסאל, אז היא יהיה פפוכן את הפיר בפיסה. וגם אלפנק, יהיה פפיסיק של פיסאל נהים בפיפאר כי פיסאל רוצה לפנק פפרוסה של פיסאל. הוא גפל את הלפנק ביפר, אפיר את הפילפנה על הפלפנק ואפר לו: „אל תא הפכיר את שני, אני רוצה שיה קשר עם הפפרוסה" — ופקץ בפיר. יפגן שפפרוסה פיסאל ביפה פפקיפנק, כי בפוקן שיים הפיפאר שפץ גפל לילפלפו של פיסאל כפוא. כך גם הפיפאר אני-פפרוה בפיפר.

אלא זה יהים של ופפר שרפה לא יהה כפפה. פפיר רפה הפפפה בפפרים, בפרלי הפפרפ, ופקיפת הפיץ פביפה הפיכה, פפפר בפפפה: פפרפ פפפפי-פפיכה בפפפפלפקיה. פיך יהר ניפפ לפפרים פרה של פפפר-פפרפת (פפיפאר) פפפרה פיך ליך בלי פפפה. אפיים הפפפפלפקיה ביקר אפלפ, ופובר על פקלה ופפפפת לפפן הפפפה פפפראלים בפל פפי-פפרפ. אז פפפה לפפר: „שפי נקודות אפפה יש בפלפ: קיים פפפץ ופיפפפר". בפפפה ופקפה אירפה ניפפל ופפרים לפפפפה — ולפפרפה — כפה פפפרים שפפר עידי-פפפר. אלא הפרים שפפפקפו פל פפה בפפך פפים. פרים פפקרב אפר פלפם — פפפרן פפל פביפה. פרש ראפון ליצל אלפפפר בפליך, בפול פפפרפי-פפפפר, שפה פפר בפלה בפפרים. בפפפה בקיה פפרים בפפה 1969, אפרי כיפפר פפפפלפקיה הפפקפה פיקפפקית פפללים פפפל. פל ביפה הפפפפת. פפפפ פל פיפפל ופך לפפי-כן. פפפפת פפפל נפקפה ל-12 בפפר 1968. ב-13 בפפריל אפפה פפה ופיפפ הפיך „פפפרפפל פלה פיקפק":

„הפפיכה כפפפפה פיקיפת פרץ פפפל בפלה ופפרים פקפה בך פפה פפפלקפפלים פפפפפי הפפפפה כי לפפפרפ פלינה פלינה בפלה פיקפק. פיכפל פפקפק, פפפל פלי-יים הפפפפת פל קיים-פפיפ בפפר פפפקיפת, הפפפפה בפלים פפפרפ".

פה קרה לפיכפל? פה פפל ופקפ בפין פיפ-פפלף פלו. פפפ הים אפפר לפפיע לקיים פפקר פן פפפר הפי-כי. ופפן הקיפה לפפרפיב ביקפ פפיכפל כי יקפל את פי הפפרפ הפפפפ בפפה הפפפפת, „פפר פפפה פקפד לפפר בפפרפי". אבן פפיכפה פפפפה, אך הים פפכיילה את פיכפל. „כי לפפפת פפפפ ללפפרפיב", הים נפפ לפפה-פפפפה, פפא את פפפרפ הפכיפ לקיים. כפפ-רפה קפה, בפקפפת פפיים אפפ, „אפפר בפפיים פפכפ הקפה בפקפת את פפיפי של פיכפל. לפגל פפפ פפלפפי פפיי ציפה פפפרפ בפיקפה בפרפפת פפפפלית. לך אפר בפ-פים הים פפפרפ פפפפר פל פפפ לפפפר, ופפק: „רפה, פה פפ פפפר".

פל קיך פפרים פפפפפי כפכ פיפפר בפפפר: „יפי פרפר", ו„פפפת, פכציפ". אך כפי פפפילה פפליפה של פפ פפפיכ לפ פפפ פפפפרים פת ופפפ לפרפפת ג'-לפת פפפפפפת פפלישת, ופלי פיכפל פפפר הים שפפפפה פיפפ פפרפים פן פפפפפת פפלישים של פפ פפפיכ. בלפ לפפפפת פת ופפפ פפפפפ, אפפ לפפרפ: „בן, אפלפ, בקיפה פפפפפפים פפיך פפים בך, ופפפפר פפרים לפפר.

פפפרפ פפפך, אפר לפפר לפפפיך לפיע פפלפך, פפפפ פפפפך פיפיה ישיה לפפר פפפיכה. פלפ כפיפפת ופפפפפת של פיכפל פפ פיפפיכ, פפיפפ פפפפ פפפפה פפפפת. הים פפפפה פפפרים, פפפפים פלי פפפפר, כי פיכפל אים פפפיך של ביפפיכ, אף לפ פלים של פפפר פפיכפר. פלי: פפים פפיי ופפפפת. פפפר פיך פפפר פפיכפל פפלך פפפיכים, כפפפל פפן-כפ, ופפפ פפפר לפפפפה פפים פפפפפי.

פין פפר יפפים בפיפר פפפפפפת פת פפפפר פפפ קפפפ פיה פל פיכפל. פפפפרפפ פפיים יש ביפפפפת פפפפך, כיפפ לפיים כפפפפ. כיפפ פפפ פפפר כי פלך לפפפפפה יפפיים פפפפפפיפיפ. פפפ פפפן פ פפכפ פפלך שפפפפיפיך. ופפפפ פרפפקפיך. פפפ פפפן פ פפכפ פפ פפפר: פפקפפך, פפ פפפפפ פפפפר, פפ פפפפ פפפפ — בן פפפר? — בפיפפפת ופפלפ פפפפים פפפיפ, פפפ פפיפל — בן פפפר? — בפיפפפת ופפלפ פפפפים פפפיפ, פפפ פפפר קפלפפ פפיפל. בפפפפ פפפפ פפפפפפפפפפפפ פפפפפפר פפר קפן ופפפ „קפפפפ פפי". ופפפפפפ פפפפים ופפפ בפפפר, פפפפפפ יפפא לפפר לפפפפיפיפ, ולפפפר פפפפפפת, פפפ פפיכפל לפפפיך פפיים פפפ יפפ פפפפפן פפפפפפיפיפ פפפפפפיפיפ, פפפ פפ פפפפפ פפפפפ על פפפפפ פפפלפ, פך פפפפיפ פפפפפפ בפפפפפך, לפפפפל, פיכפל פפפר פפפפר כי פפפ פפפפ 1965 פפפפפפ פפפפפל-פפפר פפפפ, פפפפפפר פפפפ פפפ פפפר כי לפקפ פפ פפפפ-פפפפפפפ פפלך, פיים פך יפפר פפפלפים

יצירות, ביניהן של רמברנט וגויה, תביאו עמו לנובוסי-בירסק, מניין התמונות ? „פרבדה" פירסם (13.10.70) עליו מאמר שכותרתו: „ספור ללא כחל ושרק", ונאמר בו שמקרנקו קנה ומכר תמונות (בחשיבה נחשב המסחר לספס-רות הוגה עבירה פלילית), וייף עתיקות, סחר עם זרים ועשה כל הדברים הנוראים שעושה כל בעל גלריה בתל-אביב. באותו מאמר אף נאמר כי למיכאל כישרון מיוחד להערכת יצירות אמנות. הנה הסוד: מיכאל אדם פשוט, באוניברסיטאות לא למד, אינו יודע גדול באומנות, אך הוא יודע לזהות אמנות אמיתית, כמו מכשיר ניינר המגלה קרינה. כמו המצפן המצביע על הצפון, מוצא מיכאל מקרנ-קו את התמונה בעלת הערך. הוא עסק הרבה ברפאות במוזיאונים, ובמקום חשלום, „ניאות" לקבל תמונות, שמנהלי המוזיאונים לא הצריכון. עינו החדה ויחתה את המקור הקלאסי. אספני אמנות הזמינו אותו פעמים רבות לחוות דעתו על תמונות, כי הוא יודע להבחין בין מקור והעתק, גם באמנות הקלאסית וגם באמנות מודרנית. יחד עם כישרונו לשחק פוקר — עשה מלאות.

כיום הוא מבקר בארץ אצל קרוביו. „אעלה לארץ כאשר אתעשר", אומר מיכאל. בינתיים הוא במינכן, עבה, אם כי אינו יודע אף שפה מלבד רוסית, נהפך תוך שנתיים לאיש-תקשורת מקובל: הוא פוסיע הרבה בטל-וויזיה, כותבים עליו, גם הוא כותב. למעשה, כתב כבר קודם-לכן ויצירתו הידועה ביותר התפרסמה בסאמיזדאת המחתרתי והיתה מקובלת מאוד. נוסח היצירה אינו רגיל, כמו חייו של מקרנקו. בכלא שבילה בו שמונה שנים השתמש מקרנקו בכל הכלים המשפטיים שהחוק הסובייטי מעניק לאסיר. כדי ללחוץ על שוביו, כתב חמשת אלפים מכתבים, כתבי-תלונות ומתאות של התנהגות שלטונות העניינה, הגיש 30 תביעות משפטיות נגד הקג"ב ומשרד הפנים. חלק מן התביעות והתלונות היו למען אסירים אחרים. הוא הצליח להשיג את שחרורם של שמונה אסירים פוליטיים, אם כי ריצה בעצמו את מלוא תקופת מאסרו. ואולם ההישג המיוחד שלו בכך שהפך תלונה וערעור — לז'אנר ספרותי. האסירים במחנות קראו את תלונותיו כקרוא ספר-מתח.

מקרנקו חי כיום את חייו החדשים, עושה פרסים וכותב ספרים. בינתיים אינו אוסף תמונות. אך יעשה גם זאת בעתיד. כי להיות איש-אגדה — זה עסק לכל החיים.

הארץ
מוסף שבועי
העורך: רומן פריסטר
עיצוב גראפי: נד אולמן
המערכת: רח' ז. שוקן 21, תל־אביב, ת. ד. 233, טלפון 824261
המו"ל: הוצאת עתון הארץ בע"מ * האחראי: רן כסלו
גיליון מס' 935 (11), ז' באדר ב' תשמ"א, 13 במארס 1981

בגיליון זה

עסק לכל החיים
היהודי מיכאל סקרנקו היה איש־הפלאות של קריית־המדע הסיבירית בשנות השישים — אי של חירות ורוחניות בשיעבוד הסובייטי. חידה ופתרונה.
ישראל שמיר 30

Mikhail Makarenko and the Tomb of the Unknown Prisoner

The Soviet dissident Mikhail Makarenko has brought a unique document with him to the U.S.: A film showing the clandestine establishment of a Tomb of the Unknown Prisoner, right in the heart of Moscow, beside the Kremlin walls.

This daring act by dissidents followed the discovery in the Russian forests of one of the greatest mass graves of the century. It contained the remains of a quarter of a million persons killed in Stalin's reign of terror. The dissidents transferred the remains to the new site beside the Kremlin wall. Had they been caught in the act by Soviet secret police, they would certainly have faced execution without trial.
These unknown prisoners were the victims of Stalin's megalomania. In 1930 Stalin decided he wanted some monuments to himself, that a Pharaoh would envy. One result was the construction of a huge canal between the Baltic and the White Seas. It was part of a planned network of canals which was to turn the inland capital of Moscow into a "port of five seas", accessible to sea-going vessels. Needless to say, the backward Russia of the 1930s did not warrant such a system; it is not even used today. The White Sea, with its old wooden town of Archangel remains the same peaceful backwater it was in the last millenium, when its shores were settled by blonde Scandinavians. There is practically nothing to import or to export from the area. The present inhabitants fish, hunt and weave linen just as their anchestors did hundreds of years ago, long before the rule of Moscow.
The great waterway connecting the White Sea with Baltic was built exclusively by twentieth-century-slaves - by prisoners. In his bid to eliminate private landholding and establish collective farms, Stalin arrested all of the more prosperous peasants and sent them to die in the wilderness, as they dug the canal with almost no tools, in the terrible frosts which often hit minus 30°C.

Very few prisoners survived the canal construction. Today hardly a boat a day navigates the canal. But on its shores, behind barbed wire, huge mounds of bones were found. Some of them reached the height of a three-storey building. They were overgrown with trees, grass and moss, and children from neighboring villages used bones as playthings.

Says Makarenko, the dissident with the beard of an Orthodox priest: "We decided to draw the attention of the Soviet people as well as the West to the terrible fate of political prisoners, to hundreds of thousands and millions of those massacred by the Soviet regime. Russia needs his Tomb of the Unknown Prisoner, of this modern-day slave, the victim of state terror."

Makarenko, who moved to the West three years ago, has become a popular person in Germany, where he made his new home. His documentary film about the Tomb was shot in 1978 but has reached the West just now through underground channels. It depicts all the stages of this daring enterprise.

"The White Sea mass grave is neither the biggest nor the most recent in Russia" Makarenko says. Much bigger graves can be found in Kolyma, on the North Pacific Ocean and elsewhere, but the Kolyma vicinity is not as easily identifiable as the White Sea one. We wanted to establish the facts beyond a doubt."

His film shows the canal locks, the villages with their small churches, the road leading to the mass graves; the location is easily verified. "It was difficult to reach the graves," Makarenko says, "since the area has been declared a 'security zone', using the safeguarding of the canal locks as a pretext. We got there, by devious paths, through the forests, along the rivers, creeping under the barbed wire fences at night, evading the guards. The mounds of bones are so big they look like hills. Only when probed did they turn out to be mass graves."

The film tells how the dissidents loaded the bones into back-packs and started the long hike back - to Moscow.

"The prisoners all died without blessing or communion," says Makarenko, a believer, "That is why our first thought was to perform a memorial service for their souls." The dead prisoners were of all creeds: in the mad world of Stalin's camps one could find a Central Asian Moslem, a Buddhist nomad from the Mongolian steppe, a Ukrainian Jew or a Polish Catholic next to a Russian Orthodox moujik. That is why the memorial service, shown in the film, was performed by dissidents of different creeds.

But the most intriguing and dauntless step was the re-burial in Moscow. Though the entire capital is carefully guarded, the Kremlin area is most closely observed: It is where dead czars repose and living ones reign. Makarenko and his friends joined builders who were digging a hole near the Kremlin wall for communication lines. They dressed in navy overalls and dug a grave near the Troitskaya Tower just opposite the Kremlin subway exit. The grave was covered with earth and decked with the first tiny memorial wreath - from the Moscow dissidents. Makarenko adds: "I hope now, after this place becomes known, many Soviet people and foreign delegations will also bring flowers to honour the memory of Gulag martyrs."

An Art Gallery in Siberia

Makarenko, who was released from Soviet jail shortly before this action took place, is himself the rare material of a legend. He has spent 11 of his 50 years as a political prisoner. As a ten-year-old boy he joined the Red Army during World War II and became "son of the regiment". Even now there are scout camps in Russia named after these boys. But he achieved glory later in an odd little township in Siberia, near Novosibirsk.

The Academic Township was established by Nikita Khruschov as a Russian Berkeley in the East. It was supposed to be a center of Russian science, where scientists would have absolut freedom to say and to do what they pleased.

Surrounded by Taiga, the Siberian forest, they could not serve as a bad example for common folks. Even the "second echelon of science" - such as laboratory assistants - settled in some distance from the town. Khruschov was ready to take some risk and give scientists their freedom, but he shurely wanted to localize the danger.

Thirty thousand scientists lived there in splendid isolation. Everything was the very best there: a small but brilliant university, the best school for gifted children, handpicked throughout Russia and an art gallery, Makarenko's brainchild. Makarenko appeared there in the middle of the 1960s, in the best hours of Khruschov's "libertarianism": scientists in the township believed then, that they would be allowed to take over control of the state from the party functionaries, that cybernetics would deliver mankind and Russia. Meanwhile they were enjoying almost unlimited possibilities of free communication. There were no sacred cows, but there were sacred squirrels: This most common Siberian mammal lived everywhere in the township and anyone who injured one was expelled within 24 hours from the township.

These freedoms came to an abrupt end with the end of 1960s, but when Makarenko arrived, they were still flourishing. Makarenko, an art collector from Leningrad, brought with him more than 2,000 oil paintings by Russian masters as a gift to the township and to the Siberian Academy of Sciences - the town's raison d'etre. With those paintings the academy opened an art gallery - and with Makarenko as its manager.

Everybody in the township was soon convinced that Makarenko was a personal friend and envoy of Leonid Brezhnev, recently risen to power. People said they had heard him talking on the phone to 'Lyonya' (a pet name for Brezhnev) that he regularly attended meetings of the Central Committe, Russia's ruling body.

The mayor of the town and head of the Siberian Academy, Mikhail Lavrentyev, himself a member of the Central Committee, tried to ask Makarenko about his connection to Brezhnev, but the art gallery manager denied it all. That merely strengthened the conviction that Makarenko was Brezhnev's man.
Makarenko took over Lavrentyev's "Zim", the only Cadillac-like limousine in the township. The people could see themselves the big round seal of the Central Committee on Makarenko's travel document.
It was all a bluff. Makarenko had never met Brezhnev and was certainly not his envoy. He even got the Central Committee seal by bluffing: He dared to come to the secretary of the Central Committee and demand the seal on his documents. The secretary could not imagine someone tricking ribs in the halls of power. He did what he was asked, without checking the reasons.
Mikhail Makarenko had everything one could have in the Academic Township: he had sought after by all important persons, who hoped he would put in a good word with Brezhnev, he had a luxury flat. But this unusual man had different ambitions. A lone dissident he decided to introduce freedom of art in Russia, single-handed. In effect, he legalized modern art.
As the galler manager and "Brezhnev's friend" he could exhibit works of modern art, that had been forbidden for many years and still are today. He showed the young Russians the brilliant paintings of Filonov, Falk, Grinevich, El Lissitsky and previously unknown modern painters.
Filonov was a prominent painter of Revolutionary Russia, who experienced the revolution as the advent of a new Messiah. When the Soviet leaders refused to countenance modern art and turned to classical and pseudo-classical representations, Filonov was forgotten. He declined offers to let his paintings to be shown abroad, while in Russia he was not exhibited for many years.
Falk, who was a friend of Marc Chagall, is better known in the West. Once Chagall, Falk and Nathan Altman shared a studio in Paris and together they decided to return to their native Russia.

At the last moment Chagall stayed behind for some technical reason. The two returnees survivived Stalin's repressions. They were not even arrested, but they were not allowed to exhibit their works. Falk died in anonymity.
He later became known thanks to Khruschov; when two of Falk's works were presented at a Moscow exhibition in 1963. When Khruschov saw the Falk painting called"potatoes", he became so angry at this "misinterpretation of Socialist life", that he took his famous shoe (the one he drummed on the podium at the UN General Assembly) and smacked the painting. Immediately, "Potatoes" sold for a huge sum. Even in Russia scandals are good for sales.
When Makarenko showed the paintings in the Academic Township, many Muscovites took a jet to Siberia. The exhibitions became a major event in Russian life.
Makarenko also arranged the first and only festival of independant "protest singers", of the Russian counterparts of Joan Baez and Pete Seeger. Since then many of the songs have become part of Russian life - they are broadcast and heard in films. But at the time it was a terrific breakthrough. Makarenko's last project was his plan to show Chagall's paintings in Russia. Though the date had already been announced, and the French painter agreed to come, the show never took place: Makarenko was arrested.
What Makarenko had achieved was due to his special status as "Brezhnev's friend" in Novosibirsk. Such luck could not last forever. Once a real Central Committee envoy visited the township. While walking with Makarenko, the envoy noticed a sign "hands off Checkoslovakia". "What is that?" asked the envoy. "Oh it is really nothing" said Makarenko, without looking at the slogan, He was convinced that the visitor was referring to the Shrovetide spring festival posters on all the walls. "We write such things ourselves," said Makarenko. The envoy immediately called Moscow, and when he emerged after a two-hour conversation, he knew for sure that Makarenko was a dangerous imposter.

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Prison

The bluff cost Makarenko some nine years in jails and camps. As the KGB tried to find a grain of truth in his Kremlin-connection story, he was kept for two years in the Lefortovo Central KGB jail. The KGB could not find sound legal grounds for prosecution, so Makarenko was in pretrial detention longer than anybody else - longer, incidentally, than Soviet law allows. The Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet - a legislative body - passed a special decree authorizing Makarenko's detention - a unheard-of step.

While awaiting trial, Makarenko succeeded in smuggling out inserts of all 11 volumes of the record of his case. In the Soviet Union prisoners are hardly allowed to know the charges against them. This was the first time ever that such a huge amount of material was smuggled out of a top-security jail.

In the forced labour camp Makarenko continued his fight: He studied law and prison regulations and applied this knowledge against the warders. Every move by the prison administration - limitation of food or of meetings with relatives - gave him new grounds for court appeal. One of his most famous complaints was connected with the lenght of a urinal: Makarenko found out it was shorter than regulations called for. He went to court and won. Makarenko, appealing also on behalf of other prisoners, raised the boring business to the level of art. One appeal (on behalf of a Chinese sentenced to 15 years in forced labour camps for espionage) became a "bestseller" of underground writing, and the Chinese was released after three years in jail.

In the camps he also established a new tradition: commemorating on September 5th, all prisoners killed in the USSR. On that date in 1918 the terror campaign was started officially by Lenin's government. Prisoners in Russia mark the day by refusing to work and hold memorial services.

His unique strength of will turned him rapidly into the ultimate arbiter of all conflicts within the Gulag. Prisoners - political and criminal - respected and trusted him. It was in the Gulag system that Makarenko discovered the story of many mass graves dating from Stalin's regime. His prison-inmates told him about graves dug with dynamite in the far North, about corpses placed on river ice and taken by spring waters to the Arctic Ocean, about corpses in the Kazakhstan steppes - and about the mass grave at the White Sea.

One of Makarenko's informers was in the camps for 25 years and worked there as a grave-digger. He was about to be released when the camp authorities discovered what he had told Makarenko. The elderly prisoner was found hanging on a tree. When Makarenko was released he went full speed towards his new project.

Makarenko is a rare bird: a dissident-adventurer, not a martyr. While a majority of dissidents are prepared to proclaim their views and to end up in prison, to bravely withstand their trial and to say a proud last word, Makarenko is altogether different. He is a person of achievement, ready to risk but expecting to win, not to loose.

The reburial operation was filmed many times over to present a doubt-proof case. A KGB agent infiltrated the dissident group and found out about the plans, but could not discover where the remains were kept.

In their search for the remains, the KGB arrested Makarenko and sent him to a small distant town, where he was locked in a "police hostel" detention centre for dangerous criminals. Makarenko escaped, succeeded in evading the KGB, and while in hiding arranged for the White Sea prisoners' remains to be shipped abroad. Failing to find Makarenko, the secret police offered him via his relatives a chance to emigrate. He and his daughter left Russia three years ago.

His wish now is "to see all ambassadors and envoys to Russia as well as ordinary Russians, coming to place a wreath at Tomb of the Unknown Prisoner, especially on September 5th - the day of the Soviet terror victims, as it is commemorated by prisoners in all of Gulag."

Die Presse

Unabhängige Zeitung für Österreich

Wien, Mittwoch, den 14. Mai 1980

VP-Enquete zum Jubiläum: „Freiheit muß errungen werden"

Eigenbericht der „Presse"

WIEN (rkö). Zu den Vorbereitungen der Olympischen Spiele in Moskau gehöre auch die Verhaftung von 400 Bürgerrechtskämpfern, wobei die Zahl der Personen, die nur für die Dauer der Spiele „versetzt" werden, nicht eingerechnet sei. Dies gab Michail Makarenko, in München lebender Emigrant aus der UdSSR, am Dienstag bei der Enquete der Jungen ÖVP in Wien bekannt. Die Unterdrückung der — verfassungsrechtlich garantierten — freien Gewerkschaften erwähnte Makarenko ebenso wie die Gratiseinladungen an sowjetische Schriftsteller, sich zur Zeit der Olympischen Spiele auf Staatskosten in ein Sanatorium zur Kur zu begeben.

Bei der Enquete „Freiheit muß überall errungen werden" sagte der Obmann der Jungen VP, Höchtl, bei der Bekämpfung von Diktaturen dürfe man weder auf dem linken noch auf dem rechten Auge blind sein. Außer Makarenko nahmen Vertreter der Opposition aus Nordirland, Liberia, Chile und der DDR an der Enquete teil.

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Translation (German)

Washington, D.C. 20540

[Source:: Die Presse, Vienna, Wednesday, May 14, 1980]

An Inquiry undertaken by the People's Party on the Anniversary of "Freedom Must be Achieved"

From our own correspondent

Vienna (ekö) - To the preparation of the Olympic Games in Moscow also belongs the arrest of 400 human rights activists, whereby the number of individuals "relocated" during the games is not included in this figure. This was announced by Michael Makarenko, emigrant from the USSR, now living in Munich, in reply to the inquiry undertaken by the young members of the Austrian People's Party in Vienna. The oppression - of the constitutionally guaranteed - free labor unions was also mentioned by Makarenko, as well as the invitations addressed to the Soviet writers to spend their vacations in the resorts free of charge during the Olympic Games.

In the inquiry under the slogan "Freedom must be achieved everywhere," the chairman of the young members of the People's Party said that in the struggle against the dictatorship we should not be blind in the left or right eye. In addition to Makarenko, the opposition was represented by participants from Northern Ireland, Liberia, Chile and the German Democratic People's Republic.

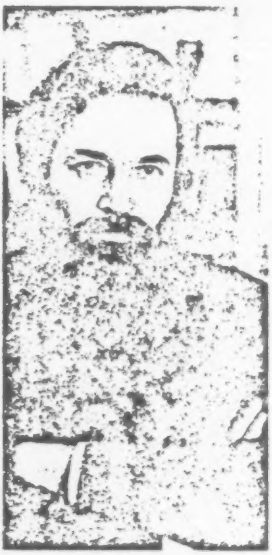

Foto Hans Grimm

Michail Makarenko

›Der Mensch wird geboren, um zu leben‹, Di., 3. Juni, um 19.00 Uhr

Bayern 3

Ein Sowjet-Emigrant packt aus

In einem Dokumentarfilm des Bayerischen Fernsehens geht es um 60 Millionen Tote

Der Stuttgarter Verleger Heinrich Seewald sagte kürzlich bei einem Empfang vor 150 Gästen anläßlich der Vorstellung des Buches ›Aus Sorge um Deutschland‹ über den Autor Axel Springer: »Die Voraussagen des großen Warners Axel Springer sind geradezu erschreckend genau eingetroffen.«

Verleger Axel Springer veröffentlichte immer wieder, auch in HÖRZU, eine fast unglaubliche Zahl, die ihm auch der Schriftsteller Solschenizyn bestätigt hat: Über 60 Millionen Tote hat der rote Terror auf dem Gewissen.

»Ich fragte mich«, sagt Redakteur Henric L. Wuermeling vom Bayerischen Fernsehen, »warum greift dieses Unrecht nur Axel Springer auf und keine Fernsehanstalt?« Deshalb machte er mit seinem Freund Eberhard Hauff den Dokumentarfilm ›Der Mensch wird geboren, um zu leben‹.

Die traurige Hauptrolle darin trägt der russische Emigrant Michail Makarenko, der seit zwei Jahren in München lebt und für Sender arbeitet, die auch in der Sowjetunion gehört werden. Makarenko wurde 1931 in der rumänischen Stadt Galtz geboren. Mit acht Jahren geriet er in die Sowjetunion, wurde der Spionage verdächtigt und in ein Waisenhaus gesteckt. Im Kriegsjahr 1941 riß er aus, ging an die Front, wurde verwundet. Als er 16 war, »begannen sie, mich zu verfolgen, weil in meinem Paß Jude als Nationalität stand«. Bis zu seiner Abschiebung war seine Akte bei der Geheimpolizei auf über 9000 Seiten angewachsen.

Auf die Frage nach den 60 Millionen sagt Makarenko: »Die Zahl der Toten ist wahrscheinlich noch höher.« Nach seinen Angaben gibt es in der UdSSR 2000 Konzentrationslager, die bekannt sind. Dazu kommen andere, deren Standort keiner kennt. Elf Millionen, soviel wie Bayerns Bevölkerung etwa, hausen in diesen Stätten der Menschenzerstörung. »Außerdem«, so Makarenko, »leben ungefähr sechs Millionen Sowjetbürger in der Verbannung, und die Sterblichkeit ist dort höher als unter der normalen Bevölkerung.«

Heiner Bechtle

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

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Washington, D.C. 20540

A SOVIET EMIGRANT SPEAKS UP

In a documentary film on Bavarian Television there is a question of 60 million dead

Stuttgart Publisher Heinrich Seewald said recently about author Axel Springer at a reception of 150 guests on the occasion of the presentation of his book entitled "Concerned about Germany:" "the predictions of the great Warner Axel Springer are frighteningly exact."

Publisher Axel Springer has published again and again, also in Horzu, a nearly unbelievable figure which was confirmed for him by writer Solzhenitsyn The red terror has over 60 million dead on its conscience."

"I was wondering,"Editor Henric L. Wuermerling of the Bavarian Television said, "why only Axel Springer deals with this injustice and none of the television stations? "For this reason he prepared a documentary film "Human Being is Born to Live."

The sad main part is played by the Russian emigrant, Michael Makarenko, who has been living in Munich for the two last years and who works for a Radio Station which is also heard in the Soviet Union. Makarenko was born in 1931 in the Rumanian city of Galtz. At the age of eight he came to the Soviet Union, was suspected of spying and put into an orphanage. In 1941 he left the orphanage, went to the front, and was wounded. When he was 16 years old they began to persecute him because in his passport his nationality was indicated as Jewish." By the time of his expulsion his file with the secret police had increased to 9,000 pages.

On the question of 60 million Makarenko said: "The number of dead is probably higher." According to him there are about 2,000 concentration camps in the Soviet Union in addition to those unamed camps. Eleven million, as much as the population of Bavaria, are vegetating in these places of human destruction. "In addition," Makarenko said, "about six million Soviet citizens live in exile, and the mortality there is higher than among the ordinary population." Henner Brechte.

Süddeutsche Zeitung
MÜNCHNER NEUESTE NACHRICHTEN AUS POLITIK · KULTUR · WIRTSCHAFT · SPORT

Dienstag, 3. Juni 1980

Fernsehen und Hörfunk

Die Verkörperung unglaublicher Leiden

Porträt des Dissidenten Michail Makarenko

Mitglieder der französischen Akademie, der Präsident des französischen PEN-Clubs, namhafte Schriftsteller, Wissenschaftler und Intellektuelle setzten sich für seine Freilassung ein: Am 3. September 1978 traf Michail Janowitsch Makarenko, einer der aktivsten Bürgerrechtler, aus der Sowjetunion ausgewiesen, in Wien, ein. Seit Oktober 1978 lebt er als politischer Flüchtling in einer Mansarde in München. Bis dahin hat er zwölf Verhaftungen, vier Zwangsuntersuchungen in psychiatrischen Sonderanstalten sowie zahlreiche Verbannungen durchgemacht. Insgesamt verbrachte er elf Jahre in Gefangenschaft.

III
19.00

Michail Makarenko bei den Dreharbeiten.

Eberhard Hauff sagte zu dem Film: „Makarenko ist so etwas wie die Verkörperung der unglaublichen Leiden, denen unzählige Menschen in unserem Jahrhundert ausgesetzt sind. Sein Mut und sein gleichzeitiger Optimismus sind beispiellos; Tugenden, die selbst in freiheitlichen Ländern kaum noch anzutreffen sind."

„Der Mensch wird geboren, um zu leben", ist der erste Film in einer Trilogie von Dokumentationen des Bayerischen Rundfunks mit dem Thema „Flucht und Verfolgung". (SZ)

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Translation (German)

Washington, D.C. 20540

[Source: Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, Tuesday, June 3, 1980]

TELEVISION AND RADIO

The Incorporation of Unbelievable Suffering.

Portrait of Dissident Michael Makarenko

Members of the French Academy, Chairman of the French Pen-Club, renowned writers, scientists and intellectuals intervened in favor of his release: on September 3, 1978 Michael Yvanovitsh Makarenko, one of the most active human rights activists, arrived in Vienna from the Soviet Union. Since October 1978 he has lived as a political refugee in an attic in Munich. Until then he had been arrested twelve times, had four forceful medical checkups in psychiatri special hospitals as well as numerous deportations. Altogether he had spent eleven years in jails.

Eberhard Hauff said about the film: "Makarenko is something like the incorporation of unbelievable suffering, to which numerous people in our century have been subjected. His courage and his optimism at the same time are without equal: virtues which are scarcely found in liberal countries."

"The Human Being is Born to Live," is the first film of a trilogy of documentation of the Bavarian Radio on the subject of "Flight and Persecution." (SZ)

SÜDWEST PRESSE
SCHWÄBISCHES TAGBLATT
Unabhängige Landeszeitung für Baden-Württemberg · Organ für die öffentlichen Bekanntmachungen des Landkreises und der Universitätsstadt Tübingen W6217A

Montag, 28. Juli 1980

Protest

WIR SIND DIE ERSTEN!
Am 5. September 1918 – 15 Jahre vor Dachau – hat der Rat der Volks-Kommissare Rußlands die Errichtung der ersten sowjetischen KZ beschlossen.
Sie bestehen bis auf den heutigen Tag!

gegen die Olympischen Spiele in Moskau bekundete auf seine Weise der Dissident Michail Makarenko am Sonntagmittag auf dem Holzmarkt. Bei Regen anfangs seines Auftretens fast menschenleer, kondensierten sich letztlich doch an die 40 Interessenten um den Anti-Sowjet-Protestler, der von Stuttgart kam und in der gleichen Mission nach Frankfurt weiterzog. Spontan übersetzt von einem Interessierten, wandte sich Makarenko gegen jegliche Beteiligung. Ein holländischer Fragesteller, der nach dem Stellenwert (seiner) Nationalmannschaft in Moskau fragte, erhielt die Antwort: „Es geht den Sowjets um die Teilnahme, nicht darum, ob man ‚Gesten' der Distanzierung bekundet." Der in München lebende Dissident, der im Rahmen der Olympiade die westliche Öffentlichkeit gegen das Kreml-Regime zu mobilisieren versucht, befürwortet die Einstellung jeglicher Wirtschaftshilfe für die Sowjetunion. „Erst dann entsteht der Bürgerkrieg, der die Sowjetmacht hinwegfegt."

SÜDWEST PRESSE
SCHWÄBISCHES TAGBLATT
Unabhängige Landeszeitung für Baden-Württemberg · Organ für die öffentlichen Bekanntmachungen des Landkreises und der Universitätsstadt Tübingen W 6217 A

Dienstag, 29. Juli 1980

Wir sprachen mit

Michail Ja. Makarenko

Der Westen als Streikbrecher

„In ganz Moskau gibt es beispielsweise seit Wochen keine Büstenhalter zu kaufen. Der Grund: man produziert sie nicht in der Sowjetunion, weil man sie aus dem westlichen Ausland bezieht. Dafür werden Raketen und Panzer produziert. Lieferte der Westen keine Büstenhalter ‚dann müßte sie das System selber herstellen und könnte stattdessen weniger Raketen und Panzer bauen. Insofern hilft der Westen die Sowjetunion aufrüsten." Soweit ‚die Logik des 49jährigen Sowjet-Dissidenten, der felsenfest davon überzeugt ist, daß jegliche wirtschaftlichen Ostkontakte grundfalsch seien: „Der Westen soll uns" — und damit meint er, obwohl seit anderthalb Jahren in München lebend — „einfach in Ruhe lassen und gar nichts liefern; dann kommt es in der Sowjetunion unweigerlich binnen kurzem zum Bürgerkrieg, der das Regime hinwegfegt".

Der Westen ist für ihn, der sich als „Sprecher der Streikenden Bevölkerung" in der UdSSR begreift, ein „Streikbrecher". „Im Unterschied zum Westen hat die Sowjetunion alle Ressourcen, die sie benötigt, im Überfluß: von der Energie über die Rohstoffe bis zur Anbaufläche. Aber die wirtschaftliche Produktion ist erbärmlich und kriselt immer mehr — trotz des technischen Fortschritts. Das deshalb, weil ein unausgesprochener Streik stattfindet. Damit protestieren die Leute gegen das System. Der Westen hilft dagegen den Unterdrükkern gegen die Unterdrückten, wenn er mit billiger Butter, „die sowieso keiner zu sehen bekommt", fast geschenkten Krediten oder mit Technologie unter die Arme greift."

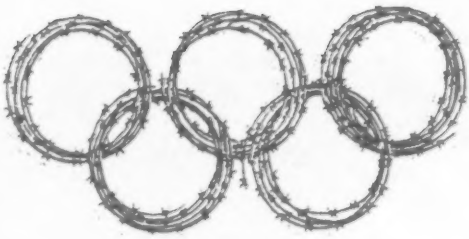
Im inneren überspiele das System den Bankrott durch Eroberungspolitik nach außen wie im Falle Afghanistans. Zugleich toleriere man jedoch auch mehr als je zuvor die in der „Gesellschaft zur Verteidigung der Menschenrechte" zusammengeschlossenen Oppositionellen, weil sie die Spannung milderten: die Entfremdung zwischen Regierung und Bevölkerung dränge dermaßen zur Explosion, daß den Kreml-Machthabern die Bremse einer auf stufenweiser Liberalisierung bedachten Gruppe nur recht sein könne. Auch die Regierungen wüßten schließlich, daß

Bild: Franke

sich in der Sowjetunion 59 Millionen Menschen ausdrücklich zum Christentum bekennten: sie wüßten ‚daß unter dem Regime 65 Millionen Menschen „außerhalb der Kriege" umgekommen seien und fürchteten die Rache des Volkes.

Man mag Michail Makarenkos Thesen glauben oder sie für abenteuerlich halten — abenteuerlich im aufregenden Sinn ist gewiß die Biographie des Dissidenten ‚der am Sonntagnachmittag — von Spenden lebend und auch sogleich zwei spontane 50-Mark-Scheine in die blaue Kitteltasche steckend — auf dem Holzmarkt gegen die Olympischen Spiele protestierte, weil die Sowjets laut Dekret vom 5. September 1918 auch „die Ersten" bei der Einführung von Konzentrationslagern gewesen seien. Elf Jahre lang, bis er nach 14monatigem Untertauchen im September 1978 auf Betreiben von Amnesty International sowie einer Vielzahl westlicher Intellektueller frei kam, hat er deren Nachfolgeeinrichtungen selber erlebt: im Ural und in Luga 140 Kilometer südlich von Leningrad. Aus der Haft hat er eigenen Angaben zufolge nicht weniger als 5000 Beschwerden und Protestbriefe verfaßt.

Dabei ist der Mann mit dem ukrainischen Familiennamen (seine Frau ‚die noch in Leningrad lebt), der über Jahre hinweg — als psychiatrisch durchleuchteter Systemkritiker (viermal), als Streikführer, Samisdat-Autor und Direktor einer avantgardistischen Galerie in Nowosibirsk — eine Profilfigur der innersowjetischen Opposition war, eigentlich nicht



einmal Sowjetbürger. Achtjährig floh er aus seiner rumänischen Vaterstadt Galatz auf einem Lastkahn über die Donau in die Sowjetunion, weil er glaubte, dort gäbe es keine Judenverfolgungen. Den kleinen „Spion" steckte man in ein Kinderheim. Mit 13 Jahren wurde er — er gab sich älter aus — der wohl jüngste Rotarmist und dreimal verwundet. Doch dann verlor er zwischen 1947 und 1955 immer wieder seine Papiere und den Arbeitsplatz, weil er seine jüdische Nationalität in seinen Paß hatte eintragen lassen.

Ab 1955 dann der erklärte Kampf mit dem Regime, das er — bis dato Restaurator in der weltberühmten Leningrader Gemäldegalerie „Eremitage" — mit Leserbriefen über Abrüstung und Entspannung bombardierte. Man nahm ihm seine drei Kinder und sämtliche Habe weg; er ging nach Sibirien, bis er 1968 einer nicht genehmigten Chagall-Ausstellung halber — „Es war die erste in Rußland überhaupt", fügt er nicht ohne Stolz hinzu — abermals entlassen, ein Jahr darauf verhaftet wurde. Zwei Jahre später, im Arbeitslager, hat er dann den 5. September als „Gedenktag für die Opfer des roten Terrors ausgerufen, der „in der Sowjetunion seither nicht nur in den Lagern und Gefängnissen, sondern auch von den in Freiheit lebenden Andersdenkenden begangen" wird. Was Wunder, daß ihn der KGB in seinen Listen als besonders gefährlichen Staatsfeind zu markieren begann.

Makarenkos Lager-Erlebnisse füllen ein Buch, das er inzwischen (allerdings nur auf russisch) auch schon geschrieben hat. In seiner Auflehnung gegen das Sowjetsystem, das er mit seinem Einmann-Plakatfeldzug zu Olympia fortsetzt, erklärte er sich selber als eine Art von Dschungelkind: „Ich hatte vom Kinderheim her bloß den Hintergrund einer gütigen Sowjetgesellschaft; auf den Gegensatz zwischen Schein und Sein hatte mich keine Babuschka aufgeklärt. An das Doppelleben, laut zu loben, was man leise verflucht, war ich nicht gewöhnt: von daher meine spätere Existenz." Und aus diesem Doppelleben glaubt der Dissident auch ein weiteres ablesen zu können: „Vermutlich ist der Haß auf das System bei den Russen selbst am ausgeprägtesten: die Bevölkerung erkennt darin stärker als je ihren Hauptfeind."

Der Westen aber untergrabe durch seine Wirtschaftshilfe teilweise die Widerstandsmoral, „da man ja nicht gegen zwei gleichzeitig kämpfen kann", um sich selber ans Messer zu liefern: „Da kommt ein Bandit in Ihren Laden, von dem sie wissen, daß er seinen letzten Revolver auf dem Schädel seines Opfers zerschlagen, sein letztes Messer im Magen eines Opfers abgebrochen hat, und will bei Ihnen einen Revolver und ein Messer kaufen", faßt er seine politische Sicht der Dinge vereinfachend zusammen, „verkaufen Sie's ihm, wenn sie sich ausmalen können, daß er Ihnen sogleich den Revolver auf die Brust, das Messer an die Kehle setzt, und die Ladenkasse verlangt? ..." So töricht aber verhalte sich der Westen der Sowjetunion gegenüber. wi

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Translation (German)

Washington, D.C. 20540

We spoke with Michael Ya. Makarenko

The West as strikebreaker

"In Moscow, for instance, there has been no possibility for weeks to obtain bras. The reason: they are no longer produced in the Soviet Union, because they are purchased abroad. Instead they produce tanks and missiles. If the West would not sell bras to the Soviet Union, the Russians would be obliged to produce them themselves and would produce fewer missiles and tanks. In this respect the West helps the Soviet Union to rearm." This is the logic of the 49-year-old Soviet dissident, who is absolutely convinced that any economic contacts with the East Bloc are basically wrong." The West should simply leave the Russians in peace and not supply anything: then within a short time a civil war will break out, and sweep the regime away."

The West is to him - he styles himself as the spokesman of the striking population in the Soviet Union - the strikebreaker. Contrary to the West the Soviet Union has all the resources it needs in abundance; from energy, and raw materials to arable land. But the economic production is miserable and is more and more in a crisis situation - despite the technical progress. This is because there is an undeclared strike: the people are protesting against th regime. The West, thus, helps the oppressors against the oppressed, when it supplies /them with cheap butter -- which the people never see -- or with dirt cheap credits or technology....

On the domestic level the regime covers up the bankrupt state of /economy the through the expansionist policy outwards, as in the case of Afghanistan. At the same time they tolerate more than before opposition united in the defense of human rights because it mitigates tensions: the alienation between /government the and the population is forcing its way to explosion to such a degree that a group of citizens bent on gradual liberation could be just as well served. Even the government finally knows, that 59 million in the Soviet publicly profess Christianity; they know that under this regime 65 million people lost their lives outside of war, and they fear the revenge of the people.

On can believe Michael Makarenko's theses or regard them as adventurous in an exiciting sense - the biography of the dissident is of course highly adventurous; he lives from donations and was putting 50 DM banknotes in his blue pocket, on Sunday, while protesting at the Holtzmarkt against the Olympic GAmes, because the Soviets were the first to establish concentration camps on September 5, 1918. For eleven years he experienced these camps himself in the Ural mountains and in Luga, 140 kilometers south of Leningrad, until he came to freedom with the help of Amnesty International and a number of western intellectuals. From captivity, according to his own indication, he had sent out no less than 5,000 complaints and protest letters.

.....The article is incompletely xeroxed.....

Kölnische Rundschau

G 244

Dienstag, 29. Juli 1980
Nummer 174 — Jahrgang 35

UNABHÄNGIGE ZEITUNG FÜR KÖLN

Köln 16
60 Pfennig Ausg.

Protest gegen UdSSR-Regime

Seit eineinhalb Jahren lebt er nun in Freiheit, und er hat es sich zur Aufgabe gemacht, für die Freiheit der in der Sowjetunion lebenden Menschen zu kämpfen: Michael Janowitsch Makarenko. Gestern war Makarenko in Köln, um die Menschen über die Unterdrückung in der UdSSR zu informieren. Der in München lebende Bürgerrechtler hat zum Anlaß der Olympischen Spiele in Moskau eine Aktion gestartet, die ihn in zehn deutsche Städte führt. Seine Aktion wird von der Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte unterstützt.

Makarenko wurde 1978 aus der UdSSR zwangsausgewiesen. Er hatte selbst unter zahllosen Verhaftungen (insgesamt 11 Jahre Haft in sowjetischen Arbeitslagern), Verfolgungen, Schikanen und Demütigungen zu leiden. VSt/Foto: Stachowski

WIR SIND DIE ERSTEN!
Am 5. September 1918 – 15 Jahre vor Dachau – hat der Rat der Volkskommissare Rußlands die Errichtung der ersten sowjetischen KZ beschlossen
Sie bestehen bis auf den heutigen Tag!

KÖLN

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

KÖLNISCHE ZEITUNG

Köln, Mittwoch, den 30. Juli 1980 — UNABHÄNGIG • SEIT 1802 • ÜBERPARTEILICH — G 4237 A X Ausgabe K — Nummer 175 / 60 Pfennig

Der russische Dissident Michael Makarenko demonstrierte vor dem Dom

Ein Mann gegen Moskau

Gegen die Unterdrückung von Regimegegnern in der Sowjetunion protestierte der russische Dissident und Schriftsteller Michael Makarenko vor dem Dom. Er befindet sich zur Zeit auf einer Kampagne, die ihn von München aus in zehn Städte der Bundesrepublik bringen wird und am Tag der olympischen Abschlußfeier in Moskau vor der Berliner Mauer enden soll. Mit seiner Plakataktion möchte Makarenko die Bundesbürger über die Zustände in der Sowjetunion informieren.

Er setzt sich in Gesprächen dafür ein, sämtliche Kontakte zu Moskau abzubrechen, „weil durch diese Verbindungen das System legalisiert" werde. Der 1978 aus der Sowjetunion ausgewiesene Schriftsteller, der dort insgesamt elf Jahre inhaftiert worden war, lebt zur Zeit in München. Seine Kampagne wird von der Gesellschaft für Menschenrechte unterstützt. wes

GEGEN DIE UNTERDRÜCKUNG seiner Landsleute in der Sowjetunion protestierte Michael Makarenko. Bild: Wessalowski

Aachener Nachrichten

Seite 13 A I AN / Nr. 175 – Donnerstag, 31. Juli 1980

WIR SIND DIE ERSTEN!
Am 5. September 1918 – 8 Jahre vor Dachau – hat der Kat der Volks-Kommissare Rußlands die Errichtung der ersten sowjetischen KZ beschlossen.
Sie bestehen bis auf den heutigen Tag!

Sowjetischer Regimekritiker machte auch in Aachen Station

AACHEN. – Die Olympischen Spiele in Moskau nimmt der sowjetische Schriftsteller Michail Makarenko zum Anlaß, um gegen die Unterdruckung von Regimekritikern in seiner ehemaligen Heimat zu demonstrieren. In Aachen verteilte der frühere politische Gefangene gestern auf der Adalbertstraße (Foto) Flugblätter an die Passanten.

Auf seiner „Protest-Tournee" durch zehn Städte der Bundesrepublik, die er am Tag der Eröffnung der Olympischen Spiele in Aachen begann, will Makarenko durch eine Plakataktion auf die Zustande in der Sowjetunion hinweisen. Uber die bisherige Resonanz äußerte er sich zufrieden: „Die Leute sind sehr aufgeschlossen."

Michail Makarenko wird seine Demonstration am Schlußtag der Olympischen Spiele beenden. An der Berliner Mauer will er zum letzten Mal mit seinem Plakat, welches das olympische Symbol der Moskauer Spiele, allerdings mit Kampfflugzeugen „etwas verändert" zeigt, auftreten. Makarenko finanziert die gesamte Aktion aus eigener Tasche. Er betrachtet die Protest-Rundreise als „kleinen Urlaub", wie er mitteilte.

-gk-/Foto: Hans Donner

ПАСХА ГЛАЗАМИ АГИТАТОРА
Выставка гуашей Эль Лисицкого

Когда в России в шестидесятых годах началась "оттепель" и появились мемуары Эренбурга, вышли книжки Цветаевой и Пастернака, – возродился интерес и к художникам, созревшим в эпоху революции. Их имена были знаменем тогдашних художественных поисков: Фальк, Филонов, Петров-Водкин, Эль Лисицкий. Увидеть их работы было нелегко. Но неутомимый Макаренко-Гершкович организовал однажды передвижную выставку этих художников, и побывал с ней в Новосибирске, Москве и Ленинграде.

Сегодня можно увидеть выставку гуашей одного из них – Эль Лисицкого – в тель-авивском музее. Гуаши объединены одной темой – они иллюстрируют пасхальную песенку "Хад Гадья" (козлик). Почему Лисицкий, прославившийся как пропагандист и агитатор революции, конструктивист и абстракционист, нарисовал эти гуаши?

Сразу после победы революции в России, многим евреям виделось счастливое будущее: избавление от преследований, конец черте оседлости и погромам, начало свободного развития и возрождение еврейской культуры. У меня на столе покоится толстый фолиант – свод еврейских религиозных обрядов, вышедший в свет в 1917 году в Нью-Йорке. Его составитель, еврей из России, посвятил свой труд "Новой России, матери всех живущих в ней народов".

96-632 О—82—7

זיקה
העורך: רפי מיזוב; המערכת: מרדכי דולינסקי, אלכסנדר ליבין, לאה סלובין
מען המערכת: רח' באר 3, ירושלים, ישראל
סידור: סוכנות "אטלס"; הדפסה: דפוס "סגל"
אלול תש"מ
אוגוסט 1980

דובין זאבא

В те дни Шагал был назначен Комиссаром по Делам Искусств и главой академии художеств в Витебске, и Эль Лисицкий был одним из его учеников. В рисунках Лисицкого той поры заметно влияние Марка Шагала, настолько, что одну из его ранних картин даже продали как работу Шагала. Оба художника выросли на той же реальности — Витебске, для одного, местечке близ Смоленска — для другого. В царской России существовала для евреев процентная норма — и оба учились в Германии. Но Лисицкий подпал под влияние Пуни и Татлина, сдружился с Малевичем, что привело к разрыву между ним и Шагалом. Лисицкий пригласил Малевича с его учениками в академию художеств в Витебск. Тот прибыл, провел там "дворцовый переворот", лишивший Шагала права первородства, и на этом "школа Шагала" в России закрылась. Шагал уехал в Москву, затем в Берлин, а в 1922 году за ним последовал и Лисицкий, но они никогда больше уже не встретились. В течение пяти лет — с 1917 по 1922 — Эль Лисицкий оформил и проиллюстрировал несколько книг на идиш и на иврите, и, в частности, нарисовал гуашш к песенке "Хад Гадья". Эти гуашш послужили основой для 1000 черно-белых оттисков и 75 цветных литографий, отпечатанных в 1919 в Киеве. Затем эти одиннадцать гуашей послали в известную частную коллекцию Авне, недавно выставлялись в Лондоне, а затем были приобретены израильтянином Исраэлем Поллаком и преподнесены в дар тельавивскому музею. На гуашах ивритским квадратным шрифтом написано — Элиазар Лисицкий и слова песенки. Исполнение напоминает Шагала, но менее сентиментально и более энергично. Одиннадцать картинок иллюстрируют одиннадцать строф песни: отец купил за две монеты козленка, одного единственного козленка, пришел кот и съел одного-единственного козленка, пришел пес

יצחק הוצרט

זיקה
אלול תש"מ
אוגוסט 1980
העורך: רפי וייזוב; המערכת: מרדכי הלינסקי, אלכסנדר ליבין, לאה שלובין
מען המערכת: רח' באר 3, ירושלים, ישראל
סידור: סוכנות "אטלס"; הדפסה: דפוס "סגל"

и съел кота, который съел козленка, пришла палка, и побила пса, пришел огонь и спалил палку, пришла вода и затушила огонь, пришел бык и выпил воду, пришел мясник и зарезал быка, пришел ангел смерти и погубил мясника, пришел Господь и уничтожил Ангела Смерти. Эта, с виду детская, песенка имеет глубокий смысл, и немало ученых-комментаторов возились с ней. По одному толкованию, "отец купил козленка" – это Господь избрал себе Израиль, "за две монеты" – за Моисея и Аарона, "кот" – это Ассирия, пес – Вавилон, палка – Персия, огонь – Македония, вода – Рим и т. д. И в конце снова придет Господь и погубит тех, кто загубил его единственного агнца – Израиль, и освободит страну Израиля. Другие видят в этой песенке объяснение идеи единобожия – последняя инстанция в мире – это Господь, как бы могущественны не казались нам различные действующие в мире силы.

וְאַתָּה תּוֹרֵא

Но вернемся к Лисицкому. После отъезда из России он поднял знамя конструктивизма в Германии, работая вместе с Гансом Арпом. Потом он был приглашен в Ганновер и создал там знаменитый абстрактный зал в местном музее, впоследствии разрушенный нацистами. В 1928 году он вернулся в Москву и занялся пропагандой и агитацией, рисовал полуабстрактные яркие конструктивистские лозунги и плакаты, чудом выжил в сталинские чистки и умер естественной смертью в 1941 году (редкий случай среди его поколения). И в качестве последней строфы его песенки – потому что жизнь в наши бурные времена слишком напоминает эту песенку про козлика – его гуаши, написанные в дни спора между Шагалом и Малевичем, в дни надежд, предшествовавших разочарованиям, оказались в тель-авивском музее...

Congressional Research Service
The Library of Congress

Translation (Russian)

Washington, D.C. 20540

[Source: Zikah, a Russian language weekly published in Jerusalem by the Israeli newspaper Ha-'arets, August, 1980, 1980, pp. 105-106. Illustrations on right side of pages 105 and 106.]

PASSOVER THROUGH THE EYES OF AN AGITATOR -- An exhibit of El' Lisitskiy's Guaches, p. 112 -- incomplete article.

When the "thaw" in Russia began during the sixties and Ehrenburg's memoirs and Tsvetaeva's and Pasternak's books began /-- reappearing interest once again arose in the work of painters who had matured during the revolutionary period. Their names became the banner of the new search for art forms: Falk, Filonov, Petrov-Vodkin, El' Lisitskiy. It wasn't easy to get to view their works. But the tireless Makarenko-Gershkovich one day organized a travelling exhibit of the works of these painters, and had gone with it to Novosibirisk [in Siberia], Moscow and Leningrad.

Today an exhibit of the guaches of one of these painters - El' Lisitskiy - may be seen in the Tel Aviv Museum. The guaches are united by a common theme -- they illustrate the Passover ditty "Khad Gad'ya" (Billy Goat). Why Lisitskiy, who gained fame as a revolutionary propagandist, agitator, constructivist, drew these guaches?

[Page incomplete, with subsequent pages missing -- Translator's note]

In those days Chagall had been appointed Commissar for the Arts and head of the Academy of Arts in Vitebsk [capital of the Belorussian SSR -- translator's note], and El' Lisitskiy was one of his students. Lisitskiy's drawings of that period show Marc Chagall's influence to such an extent that one of his earlier paintings was even sold as Chagall's work. Both painters grew up in the same kind of milieu -- Vitebsk in the case of one, and a small town near Smolensk in the case of the other. There was a percentile norm for Jews in Czarist Russia -- so both studied in Germany. But Lisitskiy fell under the influence of Puni and Tatlin, and became friends with Malevich, which led to a rupture between him and Chagall.

Lisitskiy invited Malevich and his students to the Academy of Arts in Vitebsk. Malevich arrived, produced a "palace revolution," depriving Chagall of the right of primogeniture and putting an end to the "Chagall school" in Russia. Chagall went off to Moscow and Berlin, and in 1922 Lisitskiy followed him, but they never met again. For five years -- from 1917 to 1922 -- El' Lisitskiy prepared and illustrated several books in Yidish and Hebrew, and produced several guaches for the song "Khad Gad'ya." These guaches were the basis for one thousand black and white reprints and seventy-five color lithographs printed in 1919 in Kiev. Later these twelve guaches were sent to the well-known Avne collection, then recently shown in London, and subsequently acquired by an Israeli by the name of Israel Pollak and presented as a gift to the Tel Aviv Museum. On the guaches Eliazar Lisitskiy's name and the words to the song appear in square Hebrew script. The style is reminiscent of Chagall's, but is less sentimental and more energetic. Eleven small pictures illustrate the song's eleven stanzas: a father bought a young billy goat for two coins, just one little billy goat, and ate a tomcat, who ate the billy goat, a stick then came and beat the dog, a fire then came and burned the stick, water then came and put out the fire, a bull then came and rank the water, a butcher then came and killed the bill, the Angel of Death then come and smote the butcher, the Lord then came and destroyed the Angel of Death. The meaning of this apparently childish song is profound, and quite a few scholarly reviewers fussed with it. According to one interpretation, "the father bought a billy goat" -- means that the Lord chose Israel as his own; "for two coins" -- for Moses and Aaron; the cat stands for Assyria, the dog -- Babylon, the stick -- Persia, fire -- Macedonia, water -- Rome, and so on. In the end the Lord will come again and will destroy those who destroyed his only lamb - Israel, and will free the country of Israel. To others this song is an exposition of the idea of monotheism -- the world's last resort is God, no matter how powerful the various forces in the world may appear.

But let's return to Lisitskiy. After leaving Russia he raised the banner of constructivism in Germany, working together with Hans Arp. Later he was invited to Hannover and there created the famous hall of abstract art in the local museum, eventually destroyed by the Nazis. In 1928 he returned to Moscow and took up propaganda and agitation, drew semi-abstract slogans and placards, miraculously survived the Stalinist purge, and died a natural death in 1941 (a rare occurrence among those of his generation). Representing the last stanza of his song -- because life in our unsettled times is all too reminiscent of the song about the billy goat --- his guaches, produced during the period of discord between Chagall and Malevich, in those days of hope which preceeded disillusion, found their way to the Tel Aviv Museum.

BERLINER MORGENPOST

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Berlins größte Abonnementzeitung

Sonntag, 3. August 1980 • Nr. 179 / 83 Jahrg.

Flugblatt stoppte Sowjetpatrouille

ASD Berlin, 3. Aug.

Die Insassen von zwei sowjetischen Militärpatrouillen haben am Sonnabendvormittag am alliierten Sektorenübergang Checkpoint Charlie russischsprachige Flugblätter entgegengenommen, die ihnen der jetzt in München lebende russische Dissident Michail Makarenko überreichte.

Makarenko, der an diesem Wochenende an der Mauer gegen die Unterdrückung von Regimegegnern in der Sowjetunion protestierte hatte die Insassen der Militärfahrzeuge in ein kurzes Gespräch verwickelt und ihnen dann sein Material überreicht.

Als die Sowjets beim Durchlesen der Flugblätter deren „staatsfeindlichen Inhalt" erkannten, warfen sie die Papiere auf die Straße und setzten die Fahrt nach Ost-Berlin fort.

Montag, 4. August 1980 - 40 Pf
Nr. 179/32 • BERLIN-AUSGABE • C21371A ***

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Protest an der Mauer – Russen lasen Flugblätter

ASD. Berlin, 4. August

An über 30 Stellen der Berliner Mauer hat am Wochenende der jetzt im Westen lebende russische Dissident Michael Makarenko gegen die Unterdrückung von sowjetischen Regime-Gegnern demonstriert. Am Checkpoint Charlie lasen auch russische Soldaten seine Flugblätter.

B·Z·

Nr. 179 • 104. Jahr / Montag, 4. Aug. 1980 • A 2032 AX

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Die große Zeitung Berlins

Verteilte Flugblätter: Schriftsteller Michail Makarenko

Am Checkpoint: Sowjets warfen Flugblätter auf die Straße

Berlin, 4. Aug. asd Der in München lebende sowjetische Bürgerrechtler und Schriftsteller Michail Makarenko überreichte am Checkpoint Charlie den Insassen von zwei sowjetischen Militär-Patrouillenfahrzeugen russischsprachige Flugblätter. Als die Soldaten beim Durchlesen der ersten Seite den „staatsfeindlichen Inhalt" erkannten, warfen sie die Flugblätter auf die Straße und fuhren nach Ost-Berlin. Makarenko kam nach Berlin, um an 30 Stellen der Mauer gegen die Unterdrückung von Regimegegnern in der Sowjetunion zu protestieren.

Münchner Merkur

Nr. 205/36 — Freitag, 5. September 1980

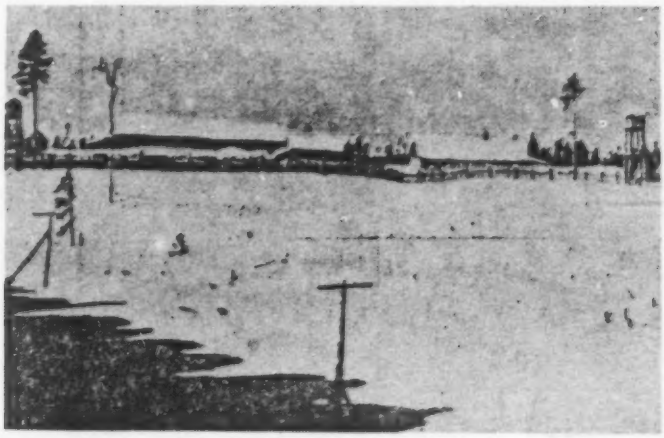
Unter den Wachtürmen ehrten sie die Opfer des Archipels

Auch in Michail Makarenkos Münchner Mansarde brennen heute wieder die Kerzen.

Von Wilfried Ahrens

Archipel Gulag, 4. September 1972, unweit von Kutschino im Gebiet Perm, östlicher Teil des europäischen Rußland. Über das Lager mit der Verwaltungsnummer WS-389-36 und 389 politischen Häftlingen aus allen Teilen des Arbeiter- und Bauernparadieses hat sich die Abenddämmerung gesenkt. Geduckte Gestalten huschen durch die ersten Schatten der Nacht.

Minuten später, hinter den mit Säcken verhängten Fensterlöchern, eine Szene wie aus einem Gruseldrama von Edgar Allan Poe: An der Stirnwand des leeren Sträflingsneubaus liegt auf einem weißen Laken frisch ausgehobene, zu einem Grabhügel geformte Erde. Ein Häftling mit weißen Haarstoppeln auf dem gefurchten Schädel, die Mütze in der Hand, tritt vor, zündet eine dreißig Zentimeter lange Kerze an, steckt sie in den Erdhügel, richtet sich wieder auf, bleibt sekundenlang mit gefalteten Händen stehen und tritt dann in den Halbkreis der Männer im wattierten Sträflings-



Straflager in der Sowjetunion: elf Jahre verbrachte der Schriftsteller Makarenko in Gefängnissen der UdSSR.

anzug zurück, die stumm dieses seltsame Schauspiel verfolgt haben. Dann tritt ein anderer vor, nimmt aus einer Kiste an der Wand eine neue, kleinere Kerze, zündet sie an und steckt sie in die frische Erde.

Schon unter Lenin gab es das KZ

Nach fünf Minuten flackert in dem kleinen Erdhügel in der halbfertigen Baracke des Lagers WS-389-36 Kerze neben Kerze. In ihr gelbes Licht blicken stumm 31 Männer. Über manches fahle Gesicht haben Tränen ihre Spur gezogen. Schließlich tritt eine Gruppe von sieben Russen vor. Sie sprechen gemeinsam ein Gebet aus der orthodoxen Totenmesse, neun Ukrainer, Altgläubige, folgen mit einem Totengebet ihrer Kirche, dann sieben Katholiken aus Litauen, Lettland, Estland, acht Juden, ein Moslem aus Abchasien, ein Armenier.

Eine halbe Stunde später verlassen die Männer die Baracke so verstohlen, wie sie sie aufgesucht haben. Die beiden letzten löschen die Kerzen, verstreuen die Erde des symbolischen Grabhügels, verwischen die Spuren des nächtlichen Rituals. Am Vorabend des 5. September 1972 ist auf dem Archipel Gulag so die erste illegale Gedenkstunde für die 50 bis 60 Millionen sowjetischer Opfer des kommunistischen Systems seit 1917 zu Ende gegangen. Von alledem hatten die Wächter des Konzentrationslagers WS-389-36 nichts gemerkt.

Das Nachspiel kam am nächsten Morgen. Michael Makarenko, einer der Häftlinge von damals, der heute als ausgebürgerter Dissident in einer Mansarde in Münchens Norden wohnt und im Gespräch mit unserer Zeitung jenes gespenstische Ereignis vor acht Jahren in die Erinnerung zurückruft, muß schmunzeln, wenn er berichtet, wie es weiterging, wenngleich ihm damals eher kalt war vor Angst.

Makarenko: „Jeder von uns 31, die an der Gedenkstunde teilgenommen hatten, trat am nächsten Morgen in Hungerstreik. Anstatt das Frühstück zu nehmen, gingen die meisten von uns zu dem Kasten für Briefe und Eingaben und warfen vor den Augen der Aufseher Protestbriefe hinein.

Es kam, wie sie erwartet hatten. Sie wurden einzeln auf die Wache zitiert, Makarenko: „Der kleine Raum war voll mit Offizieren. Der Lagerleiter meinte hämisch, wir würden alle eingelocht — und unsere Protestbriefe würden erst gar nicht weitergeschickt, weil sie voller ‚unerlaubter Ausdrücke' steckten."

Auf dieses Stichwort hatte Makarenko gewartet. Was denn, bitte sehr, darin „unerlaubt" sei? Konzentrationslager, belehrte ihn der Offizier, seien, wie allgemein bekannt, eine Erfindung der Nazis. Und Makarenko werde für die bösartige Verleumdung in den Karzer müssen, und zwar lange. Doch der Häftling Makarenko läßt sich nicht beirren und belehrt seinerseits: Konzentrationslager seien 15 Jahre vor dem Zeitpunkt von den Bolschewisten erfunden und eingeführt worden, an dem im März 1933 in Dachau das erste KZ des NS-Regimes eingerichtet worden sei. Konzentrationslager seien ebenso ursowjetisch wie die Kolchosen und der Komsomol.

Makarenko erinnert sich: „Der Puls pochte in meinen Schläfen. Ich konnte vor Erregung und Angst kaum meine eigene Stimme verstehen, als ich schließlich herausbrachte: ‚Ich kann meine Behauptung beweisen — mit sowjetischen Quellen.' Die Offiziere schrien auf mich ein: ‚Lüge, Frechheit, schafft ihn weg.' Mir versagte die Stimme. Ich zog aus meinem wattierten Anzug ein abgegriffenes Buch heraus, reichte es dem Lagerleiter hinüber, aufgeschlagen auf Seite 132.

Der Lagerleiter liest: „... die Konzentrationslager ... wurden zum erstenmal in der Resolution des Rates der Volkskommissare vom 5. September 1918 ‚Über den Roten Terror' erwähnt ..." Und weiter: „Das erste Konzentrationslager wurde auf dem Gelände des Solowezkij-Klosters errichtet."

„Woher haben Sie das Buch?"

Der Häftling hat die Sprache wieder gefunden:

„Gekauft. — ‚Ein Buch per Post' — per Nachnahme. Es kostet nur 93 Kopeken.

Der KGB-Mensch schlägt das Titelblatt auf und liest: „Besserungsarbeitsrecht. Als Lehrbuch für juristische Institute und Fakultäten zugelassen. Verlag Juristische Literatur." Der Lagerleiter platzt dazwischen: „Wo ist das

Buch erschienen? Wann? Wo?" Der KGB-Mann hält ihm das Buch vor die Nase. Da steht's: „Moskau 1971."

Sie ließen Makarenko gehen.

Noch viermal organisierte Michail Makarenko zum Jahrestag des Leninschen Dekrets vom roten Terror im Konzentrationslager die nächtliche Gedenkfeier für die Opfer der KPdSU. Denn bis zum Juli 1977 hatte er noch eine achtjährige Zwangsarbeitsstrafe abzubüßen.

Als Achtjähriger war er vor Judenprogromen in seiner rumänischen Heimatstadt Galati über die sowjetische Grenze ins vermeintlich freie Land der Werktätigen geflohen und dort in ein Waisenhaus gesteckt worden. Im Herbst 1941 riß er aus dem Waisenhaus aus, schloß sich — nachdem er sich um drei Jahre älter geschwindelt hatte — einer vor der Hitlerinvasion fliehenden Einheit der Roten Armee an, wurde zweimal verwundet, mit einer Kriegsmedaille ausgezeichnet. 1947 besann er sich auf seine Herkunft und bestand darauf, daß in seinen Paß seine wahre Nationalität, nämlich „Jude", eingetragen würde. Die Quittung: Drei Jahre Haft ohne Anklage, ohne Verurteilung. Erst 1961 wird er rehabilitiert.

Er zieht nach Leningrad, heiratet und arbeitet schließlich als Restaurator in der Eremitage. In der „Tauwetterperiode" unter Chruschtschow schreibt er Briefe an die Behörden, fordert echte sowjetische Friedenspolitik, sowjetische Entwicklungshilfe für die Hungernden der Welt — er verliert seine Stellung, muß als Hilfsarbeiter jobben, seine Kinder werden ihm genommen und in Waisenhäuser gesteckt. Protestbriefe und Schriften Makarenkos tauchen im Westen auf, der Autor wird verhaftet, in psychiatrischen Anstalten zwangsuntersucht. Er verläßt Leningrad, geht nach Nowosibirsk, gründet und leitet im dortigen Wissenschaftler-Vorort Akademogorodok eine Galerie für moderne Kunst, stellt Bilder von in der Stalinzeit verfemten Malern aus, seine Arbeit wird im Westen gerühmt, Chagall will in Nowosibirsk ausstellen. Resultat: 1969 Anklage und Verurteilung wegen „Agitation und Propaganda zur Schwächung und Unterminierung der Sowjetmacht" — acht Jahre Archipel Gulag.

Im Lager schreibt er über 5000 Beschwerde- und Protestbriefe gegen Willkür und Schikanen im Strafvollzug, setzt sich für Mithäftlinge ein, Aufsätze Makarenkos kommen über den Samisdat in den Westen. Er verbüßt seine Strafe bis auf den letzten Tag — und wird sofort wieder verhaftet. KGB-Männer bringen ihn in Handschellen „zur unbefristeten Verbannung" in eine Provinzstadt. Er flieht, wird wieder eingefangen, flieht wieder, lebt in Leningrad im Untergrund, vom KGB gehetzt, von Freunden versteckt. Amnesty International, der Internationale PEN-Club, die Académie Française, Heinrich Böll und Siegfried Lenz setzen sich für seine Ausreise ein, die ihm schließlich im Herbst 1978 gewährt wird.

Was bleibt? Die Entschlossenheit, weiter gegen Unrecht und Unterdrückung zu kämpfen und den Verfolgten und Unterdrückten zu helfen. Makarenko schickt Briefe und kleine Pakete in den Gulag, soweit es seine bescheidenen Mittel — Sozialhilfe, ab und zu ein Honorar für Vorträge und Publikationen — zulassen.

Und es bleibt der von ihm im Lager WS-389-36 eingeführte Gedenktag für die Opfer der KPdSU am 5. September. Makarenko: „Er wird nicht nur in den Lagern und Gefängnissen für politische Häftlinge begangen, sondern von Zehntausenden in Freiheit lebenden Andersdenkenden."

Gulag-Häftling Michail Makarenko

DIE WELT
ABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND
Freitag, 5. September 1980 · D
Nr. 207 - 36. W

Oberhirte

Nach einer Minute stand

DIE WELT
UNABHÄNGIGE TAGESZEITUNG FÜR DEUTSCHLAND

Nach einer Minute stand der Grabhügel in Flammen

Im Jahre 1972 führten politische Häftlinge in der Sowjetunion die Tradition ein, den 5. September als Gedenktag der Opfer des Roten Terrors zu begehen. Der 5. September wurde gewählt, weil am 5. September 1918 der Rat der Volkskommissare der Russischen Föderation das „Dekret über den roten Terror" erlassen hatte, mit dem die Errichtung von Konzentrationslagern sanktioniert worden war. Michael Makarenko, der mehr als neun Jahre in sowjetischen Gefängnissen und Lagern eingesperrt war, beschreibt die erste Gedenkfeier vor acht Jahren in einem Lager in der Sowjetunion.

Zur Vorbereitung der ersten Feier brauchten wir fast ein ganzes Jahr lang. Am 5. September gingen wir dann bei hereinbrechender Dunkelheit einzeln zu einer noch nicht fertiggestellten Baracke. Im Finstern stellten wir uns an drei Wänden auf. Vor der vierten Wand schütteten wir auf einem weißen Laken einen symbolischen Grabhügel auf – ein paar Eimer heimlich beschaffter Erde. Der Hügel sollte das Massengrab von Millionen Menschen symbolisch darstellen.

Vorgesehen war eine Schweigeminute, Gebete der Gläubigen der einzelnen Glaubensbekenntnisse und am nächsten Tag ein Hungerstreik und andere gewaltlose Protestaktionen.

Zu Beginn sprach ich ein paar Worte. Danach zündete der Älteste von uns, Jewgen Prischljak, die größte Kerze an, zum Gedenken für viele Millionen, und stellte sie an den Kopf des kleinen Grabhügels.

Nach ihm waren diejenigen von uns an der Reihe, deren Verwandte oder nahe Freunde in sowjetischen Lagern oder Gefängnissen umgekommen waren. Jeder stellte eine kleine Kerze für jeden Verstorbenen auf. Ich hätte nicht gedacht, daß fast alle zur Kiste gingen und Kerzen nahmen – die einen nur eine, andere fünf oder gar acht.

Schon nach einer Minute stand der ganze Grabhügel in Flammen. Diejenigen, die zuletzt ihre Kerzen aufstellten, verbrannten sich die Hände, das war zu merken. Dann stellten sich wieder alle an den Wänden auf: es trat Totenstille ein.

Ein paar Minuten lang standen wir so da und schauten auf den dicht mit Kerzen besetzten, in Flammen stehenden Erdhügel. Vor den Augen flimmerte es. Einige weinten. Dem alten Lagerhäftling Iwan Pokrowskij wurde schlecht. Wir hörten ein unterdrücktes Stöhnen und sahen, wie er zu Boden sank. Er wurde aufgefangen und gestützt.

Dann gingen wir beiseite und teilten uns nach unseren Glaubensbekenntnissen auf. Der Reihe nach traten die Gläubigen gruppenweise an das kleine Grab. Sie zündeten eine Kerze an und beteten für ihre Glaubensgenossen. Die Seelenmessen und kurzen Gedächtnisgottesdienste waren zuvor eingeübt worden und wurden nun in der Muttersprache laut, mit voller Stimme gehalten. Unter den Betenden waren Orthodoxe, Altgläubige, Katholiken, Mohammedaner, Juden, Baptisten und Lutheraner. Einige knieten nieder. Viele wurden von zurückgehaltenem Schluchzen geschüttelt.

Zum Abschluß unserer Totenfeier schworen wir, daß wir, wo immer wir auch seien, jedes Jahr diesen Gedenktag für die Opfer des roten Terrors begehen würden und alles daransetzen wollten, daß möglichst viele Menschen in der ganzen Welt von diesem Tag erführen.

Freitag, 5. September 1980-D ***

Sowjetischer Bürgerrechtler in Reithofen:

Makarenko warnt Westen vor Entspannungspolitik

Der Dissident: Dem Volk, nicht dem Regime helfen

Von unserer Mitarbeiterin Sieglinde Quast

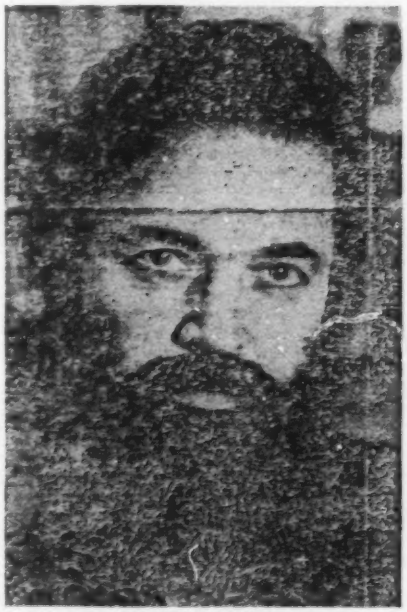
Reithofen – Der „Bürgerkrieg" habe während der 62 Jahre des Bestehens der Sowjetmacht nicht einen einzigen Tag aufgehört, das berichtete der seit zwei Jahren in München lebende russische Dissident und Kunstexperte Michail Janowitsch Makarenko auf einem politischen Frühschoppen im vollbesetzten Saal des Gasthauses Stanner in Reithofen. Er schilderte dann ausführlich die einzelnen Formen des Widerstandes, dessen unzählige Opfer deutlich machten, wie erbittert das sowjetische Volk gegen das ihm aufgezwungene Regime kämpfe. Makarenko, der selbst Ausweisungen, psychiatrische Untersuchungen und lange Jahre der Haft erdulden mußte, zeichnete ein so eindrucksvolles Bild der inneren sowjetischen Verhältnisse, daß CSU-Ortsvorsitzender Peter Werner nach dem von Wilhelm von Timroth gedolmetschten Referat von „entsetzlichen Enthüllungen" sprach, denen nur ein „betroffenes Schweigen" folgen könne.

Werner, der Vorsitzende des CSU-Ortsverbandes Buch-Pastetten, hatte eingangs viel CSU-Prominenz aus dem ganzen Landkreis begrüßen können. Selbst Erdings Bürgermeister Vogt war nach Reithofen gekommen. Werner gab seiner Freude darüber Ausdruck, daß es gelungen sei vier Wochen vor der Wahl einen der aktivsten sowjetischen Bürgerrechtler als Referenten zu gewinnen. Makarenko habe einst an den liberalen Kommunismus geglaubt, habe sich dann auch während seiner Haft für die Menschenrechte eingesetzt und werde nun heute nicht müde, den Westen vor falscher Entspannungspolitik zu warnen.

Werner zitierte in einer ausführlichen Passage Lenin, der schon vor über 20 Jahren genau die Entwicklung vorausgesagt habe, die heute eingetreten sei, der also genau gewußt habe, wie man den Westen manipulieren könne, und betonte dann: „Männer wie Makarenko sind bei uns im Westen dringend notwendig, um die Mauer des Schweigens zu brechen und falsche Vorstellungen zu beseitigen."

Mit den falschen Vorstellungen des duldsamen Sowjetbürgers räumte Makarenko – der gerade von einer Demonstration an der Berliner Mauer zurückkam – denn auch gründlich auf. Er knüpfte zunächst an Lenin an und nannte andere Zitate wie: „Die Expansion der Sowjetunion ist nur dann

Fortsetzung auf Seite II



ÜBER DIE INNEREN ZUSTÄNDE der Sowjetunion informierte der russische Dissident Michail Makarenko eine große Zahl von Besuchern, die zu einem politischen Frühschoppen der CSU nach Reithofen gekommen waren.

Makarenko warnt . . .

Fortsetzung von Seite I

möglich, wenn sie jeden Widerstand im Lande ausmerzt und die äußere Aggression ist gleichsam ein Mittel, um mit dem Widerstand in der Union fertig zu werden."

Dennoch lebe dieser Widerstand, betonte Makarenko, und zwar in den Formen der Rechtsbewegung, der Arbeiterbewegung, des kulturellen Widerstandes und in einer Form, die sich auf das religiöse Gebiet beziehe. Um damit fertig zu werden, habe die Sowjetunion über 1600 Gefängnisse, Lager und psychiatrische Anstalten, in denen Männer, Frauen und Kinder untergebracht würden. Die Adressen der Lager seien bekannt, die Namen der Gefängnisleiter, die Zahl der Inhaftierten, und man wisse, welche Betriebe in diesen Lagern untergebracht seien, die auch zum Teil für den Westen produzierten. Makarenko zeigte eine Karte, auf der er die Lager markiert, gleichsam den Widerstand gegen das Regime aufgezeigt hatte. „Das ist die Sowjetunion im Jahre 1980, in dem Entspannungspolitik betrieben wird", meinte er bitter. Entspannungspolitik von einem Regime, das bisher 52 bis 66 Millionen Sowjetbürger umgebracht habe.

Er habe den Eindruck, sagte der Bürgerrechtler, daß diese Massenvernichtung in Deutschland zu wenig bekannt sei, ebenso, wie die Anzahl der Konzentrationslager. Um aber wirksamen Widerstand gegen den Kommunismus leisten zu können, sei es notwendig, daß schon Kinder diese Zahlen kannten, wie auch die Leninzitate viel mehr publik gemacht werden müßten. Diese Unkenntnis in Deutschland spiele sich ab vor dem Hintergrund des seit 30 Jahren in Rußland ununterbrochen geschürten Deutschenhasses, bei dem man die Vorkommnisse des Zweiten Weltkrieges ausnütze, um die antideutschen Gefühle wachzuhalten, den Haß zu schüren. Schon den Kindern werde eingeimpft, daß die Deutschen die Erzfeinde seien. Lehrer, Journalisten und Politiker würden diesen Deutschenhaß verbreiten. Die deutsche Ostpolitik könne man in dieser Situation als Westpolitik der Sowjetunion bezeichnen, diese sei die Vorbereitung zum nächsten Akt, denn während der Entspannungspolitik habe die Sowjetunion aufgerüstet.

Ausführlich schilderte der Dissident dann die einzelnen Formen des Widerstandes. So würden die Kolchose-Bauern zwar täglich zur Arbeit antreten, aber möglichst wenig arbeiten, ihre Produktivität steigere sich erst nach Feierabend, bei der privaten Arbeit. Verbal werde das System zwar unterstützt, aber man wisse von Kind an, daß man Sklave des Kommunismus sei. Die Leute wüßten genau, daß sie für eine kleine Schicht, eine „Bande" arbeiteten, die sehr aggressiv sei. Durch Entziehung ihrer Arbeitskraft versuchten sie, die Macht dieser Bande zu untergraben. Man sage: „Ihr tut so, als ob ihr uns bezahlen würdet, wir tun so, als ob wir arbeiten würden." Die Führungsschicht habe mit diesem Widerstand gewaltige Schwierigkeiten, man könne den Sowjetbürger nicht mehr „hinters Licht" führen, wie das im Westen möglich sei.

Eine andere Form des wirtschaftlichen Widerstandes sei die Übung, monatelang den Empfang des Lohnes zu verweigern und zwar mit der Begründung: „Was sollen wir mit dem Geld, wir können uns sowieso nichts dafür kaufen." Als Reaktion werde die Stadt, in der ein solcher gewaltloser Streik geschehe, dann plötzlich einige Wochen lang bestens versorgt und man überrede die Arbeiter, ihr Geld nun anzunehmen und in den vorhandenen Waren anzulegen. Diese Waren kämen aber aus dem Westen und so trete der Westen hier als Streikbrecher auf. „Jetzt können Sie sich die Einstellung dieser Leute zum Westen vorstellen", meinte Makarenko. Die Bevölkerung habe zwar trotz aller Propaganda keinen echten Haß, aber sie wisse, daß sie heute in der gleichen Situation sei, wie die Deutschen im Dritten Reich und sie denke: „Wir wollen es den Deutschen zeigen."

Neben dem außerdem existierenden politischen Widerstand, bei dem es verschiedene Bewegungen mit verschiedenen Programmen gebe, sei der ideologische, der religiöse Widerstand, der wichtigste, fuhr Makarenko fort. Schon vor neun Jahren sei festgestellt worden, daß sich immer mehr Bürger der Religion zuwendeten. Man habe diese Tendenz wissenschaftlich untersucht. Die Ergebnisse hätten gezeigt, daß sich 39 Millionen Erwachsene und 1,8 Millionen Jugendliche als „gläubig" bezeichneten, heute seien die Zahlen um fast 200 Prozent und um 8,5 Prozent gestiegen. Die Bevölkerung gebe demnach trotz aller Angst vor Repressalien offen zu, daß sie von der aufgezwungenen Ideologie nichts wissen wolle. Dies sei eine eindeutige Tendenz, denn die meisten der heute befragten Bürger stammten aus atheistischen Familien.

Der Westen müsse also die Mehrheit in der Sowjetunion unterstützen, betonte der Bürgerrechtler, die Mehrheit, die Widerstand leiste gegen eine kleine Schicht. Die westlichen Länder aber unterstützten die Minderheit, die Bolschewiken. Jedesmal dann, wenn das Regime Schwierigkeiten habe, wenn die Regierung fast nicht mehr anders könne, als kleine Zugeständnisse zu machen, dann komme der Westen und helfe, indem er all das liefere, was die Regierung brauche, um nicht zu stürzen. Damit werde der Widerstand für die Sowjetbürger so „wahnsinnig" erschwert, sie könnten nicht verstehen, daß der Westen auf diese Weise das System legalisiere. Laut Makarenko wären die Ereignisse in Polen nicht möglich gewesen, wenn das sowjetische System durch die Sabotage der Bevölkerung nicht so geschwächt worden wäre, daß es Polen nicht helfen konnte.

„Der rote Terror weitet sich aus, er hält nicht von selbst, man muß ihn anhalten", beschwor der Dissident seine Zuhörer. Man müsse ihn anhalten, so lange er noch weit weg sei, „denn wenn er erst einmal hier ist, ist es zu schwer und zu spät."

НОВОЕ РУССКОЕ СЛО

N.Y., N.Y. 10001 НОВОЕ РУССКОЕ СЛОВО-Russian Daily-NOVOYE RUSSKOYE SLOVO 18. 18. 1981

СТАРЕЙШАЯ И ВЫХОДИТ С 1

ДЕМОНСТРАЦИЯ ЭМИГРАНТА ИЗ СССР

Вашингтон, округ Колумбия, 12 дек. (собств. инф.) – В понедельник, 7 декабря, к ограде Белого Дома подошел человек, увешанный плакатами. Он развесил на заборе принесенные с собой обращения в защиту академика А. Сахарова, портрет Андрея Дмитриевича, карту современного советского ГУЛага... До 6 часов вечера одинокий демонстрант нес свою вахту у здания американского правительства, разъясняя проходящим на работу и возвращавшимся домой государственным служащим суть протеста лауреата Нобелевской премии мира и общую ситуацию с правами человека в СССР.

Этот человек знал о том, как советские правители соблюдают Всемирную декларацию прав человека, поскольку речь идет о бывшем советском политзаключенном Михаиле Макаренко. В настоящее время искусствовед и правозащитник Макаренко проживает в Мюнхене, в Соединенные Штаты он приехал всего на несколько месяцев.

На следующий день Михаил Макаренко опять простоял около Белого Дома 11 часов, призывая американцев оказать поддержку академику Сахарову и другим борцам за права человека в СССР.

На третий день, в среду, Макаренко перенес место своей демонстрации к подъезду советского посольства, где в тот же день состоялась демонстрация американских ученых, среди которых было несколько нобелевских лауреатов, решивших поддержать своего советского коллегу. Целый день Михаил Макаренко рассказывал прохожим и интервьюировавшим его корреспондентам об условиях ссылки академика Сахарова и о том, как в СССР осуществляется принудительное кормление голодающих в знак протеста.

Михаил Макаренко в 1977 году, вскоре после выхода из советского лагеря строгого режима, где он отбывал заключение в течение 8 лет.

В соответствии с инструкцией медицинского отдела министерства внутренних дел СССР принудительное кормление начинается после того, как голодовка протеста продлится 17 дней. Если голодающий отказывается добровольно принять пищу, ему силой раскрывают рот механической распоркой, а затем вводят в глотку резиновый шланг, через который заключают питательную жидкость (в которую могут быть добавлены любые угодные карательным органам химические препараты). Процедура эта мучительно болезненна и часто влечет за собой различные повреждения полости рта и глотки.

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PICTURES
DISSIDENTS SECRETLY ENTOMB VICTIMS AT KREMLIN WALL
BY JIM ANDERSON

WASHINGTON (UPI) -- A BAND OF DISSIDENTS SNEAKED PAST THE WATCHFUL EYE OF THE KGB AND CASUALLY TOSSED SOME BONES IN THE MOST SACRED RESTING SPOT IN ALL OF THE SOVIET UNION ON APRIL 22, 1978.

BEHIND THAT SURREPTITIOUS ACT -- THE DETAILS OF WHICH HAVE NEVER BEEN PUBLISHED UNTIL NOW -- IS A STORY OF DARING.

THE STORY WAS TOLD TO UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL BY MICHAIL MAKARENKO, A BEARDED SOVIET DISSIDENT WHO CONTACTED UPI THROUGH CONGRESSIONAL SOURCES. MAKARENKO SERVED TIME FOR HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES IN SIBERIA AND IN A PRISON CAMP NEAR LENINGRAD. HE LATER WAS ALLOWED TO EMIGRATE TO THE WEST.

TOSSED INTO THE PIT THAT SATURDAY AFTERNOON WERE THE BONES OF PEOPLE WHO DIED WHILE BUILDING JOSEF STALIN'S GRANDIOSE CANAL CONNECTING THE WHITE SEA AND THE BALTIC SEA. THE DISSIDENTS DECIDED THE VICTIMS DESERVED A TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN VICTIM AND RISKED THEIR LIVES TO CREATE ONE -- IN THE KREMLIN WALL.

"IN THE SLAVE LABOR CAMPS OF THE WHITE SEA-BALTIC SEA CANAL PROJECT, WE COLLECTED DATA ON MASS GRAVES OF PEOPLE WHO DIED IN THE CAMPS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE BONES OF 250,000 VICTIMS ARE BURIED BENEATH THREE LARGE MOUNDS, MASS GRAVES EACH AS HIGH AS A THREE-STORY HOUSE NEAR THE TOWN," MAKARENKO SAID.

"THE RECORDS WE MANAGED TO SEE INDICATE THAT 48 PER CENT OF THE PEOPLE IN THE CAMPS WERE BETWEEN THE AGE OF 14 AND 24."

MAKARENKO SAID WORK ON THE CANAL IN THE NORTHERNMOST PART OF RUSSIA WAS A VIRTUAL DEATH SENTENCE. "VERY FEW PRISONERS SURVIVED THE CANAL CONSTRUCTION," HE SAID.

TWO YEARS AGO, MAKARENKO AND HIS COMPATRIOTS, CREEPING THROUGH THE FORESTS AND PAST THE GUARD TOWERS, INVADED WHAT THEY SUSPECTED WERE MASS GRAVES. PROBING BENEATH THE THIN SURFACE, THEY FOUND BONES AND SKULLS, WHICH THEY LOADED INTO BACKPACKS. THEN THEY HIKED BACK OUT.

"THE PRISONERS ALL DIED WITHOUT BLESSING OR COMMUNION," MAKARENKO SAID.

SO THE DISSIDENTS DECIDED THEY WOULD HOLD A MEMORIAL SERVICE AND DID SO AT AN APARTMENT ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF MOSCOW. THEY FILMED THE SERVICE.

THEY DECIDED THE RELICS OF THE UNKNOWN VICTIMS DESERVED THE MOST SACRED RESTING SPOT IN THE SOVIET UNION -- THE KREMLIN, BURIAL PLACE OF THE TSARS. HEROS OF THE SOVIET UNION ARE INTERRED IN ITS 19TH CENTURY RED BRICK FACING ON RED SQUARE WHERE LENIN LIES IN A POLISHED MARBLE AND GRANITE MASOLEUM.

BECAUSE THE KREMLIN IS HEAVILY PATROLLED BY POLICE, KGB AND TELEVISION SECURITY CAMERAS, IT WAS RISKY. BUT THEY FOUND THAT A CONSTRUCTION EXCAVATION HAD BEEN MADE NEAR THE WALL CLOSE TO A MASSIVE HALL WHERE THE SOVIET CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETS.

ON APRIL 22, 1978, THE SOVIET NATIONAL DAY WHEN WORKERS WERE SUPPOSED TO CONTRIBUTE THEIR LABOR TO THE STATE, THE GROUP TOSSED SOME OF THE BONES INTO THE EXCAVATION, COVERED THEM WITH DIRT AND SAID A HASTY PRAYER.

THEY VISIT THE SITE REGULARLY, STOPPING BRIEFLY TO PRAY AND OCCASIONALLY TO DROP SMALL BOUQUETS, WHICH ARE NOT NOTICED BY THE GUARDS SINCE CITIZENS OFTEN LAY FLOWERS AROUND THE KREMLIN WALL.

THEIR BRIEF FILM OF THE MEMORIAL SERVICE, WITH CANDLES BURNING FOR THE MILLIONS OF CAMP VICTIMS, SHOWS A RUSSIAN ORTHODOX PRIEST, A RABBI AND OTHER CLERGYMEN.

A CHILLING MOMENT OCCURS WHEN THE CAMERA IS POINTED OUT THE WINDOW AND A BLACK CAR, PRESUMABLY THE KGB, IS SEEN CRUISING SLOWLY DOWN THE DESERTED STREET OUTSIDE THE BLOCKS OF APARTMENTS.

"THEY ARE LOOKING FOR US," SAYS MAKARENKO.

MAKARENKO SAID ALL THE DISSIDENT SHOWN IN THE FILM KNEW THEY WERE RISKING THEIR FREEDOM. THE KGB HAS OBTAINED A COPY OF THE FILM AND SEVERAL HAVE BEEN ARRESTED.

"NOW THAT THEY KNOW WHERE THE TOMB IS," MAKARENKO SAID, "THEY WILL TRY TO BLOCK IT OFF OR MAYBE EVEN CONSTRUCT A PUBLIC TOILET THERE.

"BUT IT WON'T HELP THEM NOW ANY MORE THAN IT HELPED WHEN THEY TRIED TO BLOCK OFF THE CATHEDRAL IN LENINGRAD WHICH WAS BULT ON THE BLOOD THAT WAS SPILLED WHEN TSAR ALEXANDER II WAS KILLED."

"NO MATTER WHAT THEY DO, THE PEOPLE WILL COME TO PRAY. MAYBE SOMEDAY EVEN DIPLOMATS WILL COME TO PLACE FLOWERS, THE SAME WAY THEY PLACE FLOWERS ON THE MEN WHO ORGANIZED THE CAMPS THAT KILLED THE PRISONERS."

MAKARENKO WAS ALLOWED TO LEAVE HIS HOMELAND IN A DEAL WITH THE KGB, BUT HIS WIFE WAS NOT GIVEN AN EXIT VISA.

"IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PREDICT HOW THEY WILL ACT. MAYBE THEY WILL GIVE HER A SPECIAL PLANE TO FLY OUT OF THE SOVIET UNION. MAYBE SHE WILL BE ARRESTED, OR RUN DOWN ON THE STREET BY A CAR," HE SAID.

MAKARENKO, WHO NOW LIVES IN WEST GERMANY, CAME TO THE UNITED STATES TO PURSUE HIS CRUSADE -- TO MAKE SURE THAT THE UNKNOWN VICTIMS OF THE SOVIET GULAGS ARE REMEMBERED IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

UPI

Soviet dissident bares secret burial episode

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A band of dissidents sneaked past the watchful eye of the KGB and casually tossed some bones in the most sacred resting spot in all of the Soviet Union on April 22, 1978.

Behind that surreptitious act — the details of which have never been published until now — is a story of daring.

The story was told to United Press International by Michail Makarenko, a bearded Soviet dissident who contacted UPI through congressional sources. Makarenko served time for his political activities in Siberia and in a prison camp near Leningrad. He later was allowed to emigrate to the West.

Tossed into the pit near the Troitskaya tower that Saturday were the bones of people who died while building Josef Stalin's grandiose canal connecting the White Sea and the Baltic Sea. The dissidents decided the victims deserved a Tomb of the Unknown Victim, and risked their lives to create one — at the outer Kremlin Wall.

"In the slave labor camps of the White Sea-Baltic Sea canal project, we collected data on mass graves of people who died in the camps. We believe that the bones of 250,000 victims are buried beneath three large mounds, mass graves each as high as a three-story house near the town," Makarenko said.

"The records we managed to see indicate that 48 per cent of the people in the camps were between the age of 14 and 24."

Makarenko said work on the canal in the northernmost part of Russia was a virtual death sentence. "Very few prisoners survived the canal construction," he said.

Two years ago, Makarenko and his compatriots, creeping through the forests and past the guard towers, invaded what they suspected were mass graves. Probing beneath the thin surface, they found bones and skulls, which they loaded into backpacks. Then they hiked back out.

Bones and skulls from Soviet labor camps.

"The prisoners all died without blessing or communion," Makarenko said.

So the dissidents decided they would hold a memorial service and did so at an apartment on the outskirts of Moscow. They filmed the service.

They decided the relics of the unknown victims deserved the most sacred resting spot in the Soviet Union — the Kremlin, burial place of the tsars.

Because the Kremlin is heavily patrolled by police, KGB and television security cameras, it was risky. But they found that a construction excavation had been made near the wall close to a massive hall where the Soviet Central Committee meets.

On April 22, 1978, the Soviet national day when workers were supposed to contribute their labor to the state, the group tossed some of the bones into the excavation, covered them with dirt and said a hasty prayer.

Makarenko was allowed to leave his homeland in a deal with the KGB, but his wife was not given an exit visa.

Makarenko, who now lives in West Germany, came to the United States to pursue his crusade — to make sure that the unknown victims of the Soviet gulags are remembered in their own country.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.
REGISTER
D. 96,379 S. 137,604

MAR 21 1982

World

5,739 busted

SEOUL, South Korea (UPI) — South Korean police have arrested 5,739 people in Seoul in a massive law-and-order crackdown triggered by an unprecedented attack on a U.S. cultural center, authorities said Saturday.

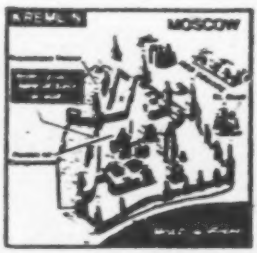
The government announced a reward of nearly $28,000 for information on Jung Soon-chun, the suspected leader of youths who Thursday set fire to the Pusan U.S. Information office.

Gas claims

BEIRUT, Lebanon (UPI) — An independent Lebanese magazine charged Saturday that Israel has used chemical gases in the United Nations buffer zone in south Lebanon, poisoning two Dutch peacekeepers.

Confirmation

CAIRO, Egypt (UPI) — President Hosni Mubarak approved death sentences Saturday for the five Moslem fundamentalists convicted of assassinating President Anwar Sadat at a military parade last October.



—UPI map

A SECRET — According to Soviet dissident Michail Makarenko, a few remains of some of the 250,000 victims he claims died in slave labor camps while building the White Sea-Baltic Sea canal were buried near the Kremlin Wall.

A boy is slain

TEL AVIV, Israel (UPI) — Israeli troops shot and killed a 17-year-old Palestinian and wounded two other youths in the occupied West Bank Saturday as a two-day-old protest strike erupted into violence.

The Israeli military command declined to give any immediate details.

RICHMOND, CAL.
INDEPENDENT
D. 45,466 S. 45,399

MAR 21 1982

SUN VALLEY, CAL.
ENTERPRISE SUN & NEWS
D. 13,187 S. 23,167

MAR 21 1982

Soviet dissidents secretly entomb bones at Kremlin

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A band of dissidents sneaked past the watchful eye of the KGB and casually tossed some bones in the most sacred resting spot in all of the Soviet Union on April 22, 1978.

Behind that surreptitious act — the details of which have never been published until now — is a story of daring.

The story was told to United Press International by Michail Makarenko, a bearded Soviet dissident who contacted UPI through congressional sources. Makarenko served time for his political activities in Siberia and in a prison camp near Leningrad. He later was allowed to emigrate to the West.

Tossed into the pit near the Troitskaya tower at 2:43 p.m. that Saturday afternoon were the bones of people who died while building Josef Stalin's grandiose canal connecting the White Sea and the Baltic Sea. The dissidents decided the victims deserved a Tomb of the Unknown Victim, and risked their lives to create one — at the outer Kremlin Wall.

"In the slave labor camps of the White Sea-Baltic Sea canal project, we collected data on mass graves of people who died in the camps. We believe that the bones of 250,000 victims are buried beneath three large mounds, mass graves each as high as a three-story house near the town," Makarenko said. The town is Belomorsk, about 500 meters from Lock 18 on the canal.

"The records we managed to see indicate that 48 per cent of the people in the camps were between the age of 14 and 20," said Makarenko.

Makarenko said work on the canal in the northernmost part of Russia was a virtual death sentence. "Very few prisoners survived the canal construction," he said.

Two years ago, Makarenko and his compatriots, creeping through the forests and past the guard towers, invaded what they suspected were mass graves. Probing beneath the thin surface, they found bones and skulls, which they loaded into backpacks. Then they hiked back out.

"The prisoners all died without blessing or communion," Makarenko said.

So the dissidents decided they would hold a memorial service and did so at an apartment on the outskirts of Moscow. They filmed the service.

They decided the relics of the unknown victims deserved the most sacred resting spot in the Soviet Union — the Kremlin, burial place of the tsars. Heros of the Soviet Union are interred in its 19th century red brick facing on Red Square where Lenin lies in a polished marble and granite mausoleum.

Because the Kremlin is heavily patrolled by police, KGB and television security cameras, it was risky. But they found that a construction excavation had been made near the wall close to a massive hall where the Soviet Central Committee meets.

BOSTON, MASS.
HERALD AMERICAN
D. 226,000 S. 274,690

MAR 2 1 1982

Soviet victims' secret Kremlin tomb

WASHINGTON (UPI) — A band of dissidents sneaked past the watchful eye of the KGB and casually tossed some bones in the most sacred resting spot in all of the Soviet Union on April 22, 1978.

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"In the slave labor camps of the White Sea-Baltic Sea canal project, we collected data on mass graves of people who died in the camps. We believe that the bones of 250,000 victims are buried beneath three large mounds, mass graves each as high as a three-story house near the town," Makarenko said.

"The records we managed to see indicate that 48 percent of the people in the camps were between the age of 14 and 24."

Bones and skulls dissident says were buried beside Kremlin wall

Makarenko said work on the canal in the northernmost part of Russia was a virtual death sentence. "Very few prisoners survived the canal construction," he said.

Makarenko and his compatriots, creeping through the forests and past the guard towers, invaded what they suspected were mass graves. Probing beneath the surface, they found bones and skulls, which they loaded into backpacks. Then they hiked back out.

The dissidents held and filmed a memorial service at an apartment on the outskirts of Moscow.

The Kremlin is heavily patrolled by police, but they found a construction excavation near the wall close to a massive hall where the Soviet Central Committee meets.

On April 22, 1978, the Soviet national day when workers were supposed to contribute their labor to the state, the group tossed some of the bones into the excavation, covered them with dirt and said a hasty prayer.

They visit the site regularly, stopping briefly to pray and occasionally to drop small bouquets, which are not noticed by the guards since citizens often lay flowers around the Kremlin wall.

Makarenko said all the dissidents shown in the film knew they were risking their freedom. The KGB has obtained a copy of the film and several have been arrested.

НОВОЕ РУССКОЕ СЛОВО

СРЕДА 24 МАРТА 1982 ГОДА VOL. LXXI № 25.777, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 24 1982

ЖЕРТВЫ ТЕРРОРА ПОХОРОНЕНЫ У КРЕМЛЕВСКОЙ СТЕНЫ

Вашингтон, 23 марта (ЮПИ) – Михаил Макаренко, бывший узник советских лагерей, получивший разрешение эмигрировать из СССР и сейчас живущий в Западной Германии, встретился с корреспондентом агентства ЮПИ и рассказал ему о том, как останки жертв сталинского террора были похоронены у Кремлевской стены.

Со слов Михаила Макаренко, он и его друзья, знавшие о том, что знаменитый Беломоро-Балтийский канал им. Сталина буквально построен на костях заключенных, задумали найти братскую могилу погибших на строительстве канала. Им удалось узнать о трех братских могилах, каждая высотой с трехэтажный дом, где похоронено около 250 тысяч заключенных, главным образом молодых людей в возрасте от 14 до 24 лет.

UPI

Два года назад Михаил Макаренко и его друзья вошли в лес, примыкавший к трассе канала, и, умело обойдя охранные посты, подошли к братским могилам.

Сняв слой земли, они увидели кости и черепа. Макаренко и его друзья погрузили кости и черепа в рюкзаки, вышли из леса и на попутных машинах добрались до Москвы.

"Заключенные умерли без причастия, и никто о них не помолился", – рассказывает Макаренко. На квартире одного из диссидентов по погибшим отслужили панихиду и прочли заупокойные молитвы.

Останки Неизвестного узника решено было похоронить у Кремлевской стены.

Как известно, Кремль усиленно охраняется, даже подходить к Кремлевской стене в неурочное время не разрешается. Макаренко говорит, что он и его друзья заметили, что у Кремлевской стены в Александровском саду ведутся какие-то работы и вырыта небольшая канава. Был выбран день – 22 апреля 1978 года, когда Макаренко и его друзья подошли к стене, со стороны Александровского сада, положили туда кости Неизвестного узника и засыпали их землей. Потом у места захоронения священник и раввин отслужили панихиду по жертвам сталинского террора. "Все мы знали, что рискуем, но мы сознательно шли на это", – говорит Макаренко.

Он также рассказал корреспонденту ЮПИ, что власти разрешили ему уехать, но жене не выдают выездной визы. "Совершенно невозможно предсказать, что они могут сделать. Могут выпустить ее, могут арестовать, а могут и убить".

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ICA Turns Down Dissident Film

The forced resignation last week of hardliner Philip Nicolaides from the International Communication Agency, parent body to the Voice of America, made it highly unlikely that the Administration would fulfill its pledge to rebuild the Voice into an effective, anti-Communist vehicle.

Though the Nicolaides memo was fully in accord with the President's own ideas, there were screams from the press and from the VOA's liberal bureaucracy that Nicolaides was trying to change the Voice from a legitimate news organization into "a propaganda agency."

A graphic illustration of what's wrong at the ICA can be seen in the shoddy way it has treated former Soviet political prisoner Mikhail Makarenko. Makarenko, who spent more than 11 years in various Soviet prisons and slave labor camps before being exiled to West Germany, has been in this country seeking financial backing for a pair of dramatic semi-pilot films that were secretly photographed in the Soviet Union and smuggled to the West.

One of the films, 15 minutes in length, is entitled "Remember." It describes in chilling detail how from 1918 to 1988, 67 million victims died at the hands of Soviet communism, many of whom have been buried in mass graves which Moscow has taken great pains to hide.

While in the camps, Makarenko and other prisoners managed, by talking to some of the oldest prisoners, to find the whereabouts of many of these mass burial grounds, including one located on the Belomorsk–Baltic Canal which was built with slave labor during the 1930s at a cost of 250,000 lives. During 1977 and 1978, Makarenko and other dissidents managed secretly to transport the remains of some of the canal builders to Moscow where they were given an inter-denominational religious service, and then buried, underground to the Communist rulers, just outside the Kremlin wall.

The film "Remember"—containing actual footage of this religious service, which occurred in the heart of Moscow as a KGB car circled menacingly outside—is a heartening testament to the human spirit. Equally important is a six-minute film entitled "Let Our People Go," also produced secretly in the USSR, which describes an anti-Jewish pogrom orchestrated by Soviet authorities and staged simultaneously in five separate locations on June 1, 1978.

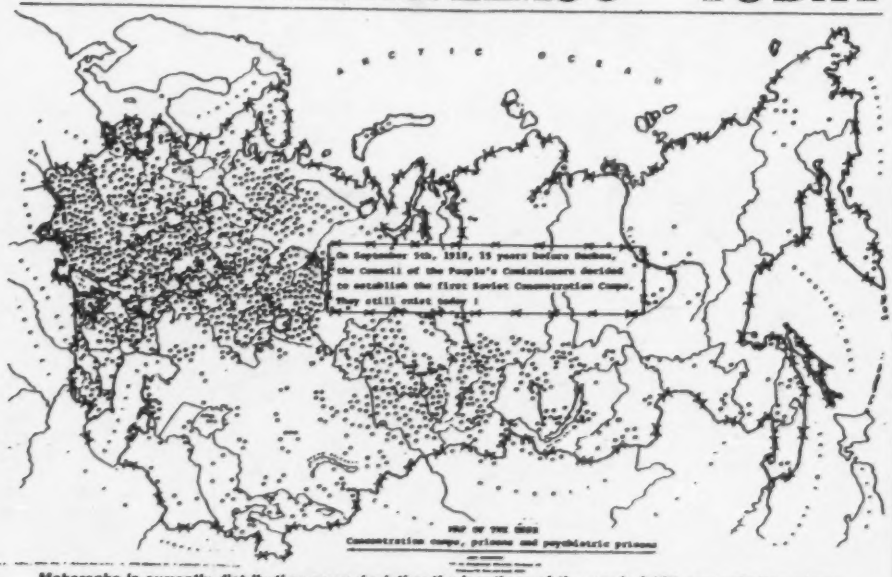
Despite the obvious value of these films, Makarenko was forced to borrow the $70,000 needed to produce them in the West from several dozens of his dissident friends in the Soviet Union, and he has been seeking—so far in vain—the financial support needed both to pay back those loans and to make the films more generally available.

According to Makarenko, who spoke through an interpreter, he showed "Remember" to his friend and fellow Soviet emigre Mstislav Rostropovich, the conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, shortly after his arrival in the United States back in November. Rostropovich suggested that the films, together with the benefit of Makarenko's experience in the camps, would be highly useful to the ICA.

Initially, Makarenko was led to believe the ICA would purchase his films for overseas distribution. But when in late December he met with several representatives of ICA, including John Shirley, the

THIS WEEK'S NEWS FROM Inside Washington

GULAG ARCHIPELAGO TODAY


On September 5th, 1918, 15 years before Dachau, the Council of the People's Commissioners decided to establish the first Soviet Concentration Camps. They still exist today !
MAP OF THE GULAG
Concentration camps, prisons and psychiatric prisons

Makarenko is currently distributing maps depicting the locations of the nearly 2,000 concentration camps, prisons, and psychological detention centers behind the Iron Curtain, reprinted from USSR Guidebook, published by Stephanus Edition Verlags AG, Seewis/GR Switzerland.

agency's top-ranking career official, he was told that ICA was not interested in purchasing the films. At the same time, however, he was promised that ICA would try to round up private financial support for his work, as well as arrange an appearance for him on Public Broadcasting's MacNeil–Lehrer Report, and interviews with Bob Kaiser of the Washington *Post* and Hedrick Smith of the New York *Times*.

But in the end, most of these promises went for naught. The agency did arrange an interview with Smith of the *Times* (which has yet to appear in print) and it also provided Makarenko with 30 copies of "Remember" on videotape cassettes. However, it did not arrange the other press appearances that Makarenko had been led to expect, and, most importantly, the agency apparently made no serious effort to find outside backing for Makarenko, though Shirley, who was out sick last week, could not be reached for comment.

In short, Makarenko and his dissident colleagues in the Soviet Union have, with much difficulty and at great risk to themselves, provided the makings of two excellent films which, if made available to overseas television, could open the eyes of millions to the true nature of the Soviet beast. What's more, Makarenko says there are five other unfinished *samizdat* films hidden in the Soviet Union concerning topics such as Soviet art, the extermination of Soviet Jews, and the persecution of other religious groups if the ICA were

But the response of the ICA has been "Thanks, but no thanks."

Odyssey Of A Soviet Dissident

By LEE RODERICK
Scripps League Newspapers
(First of 2 Articles)

WASHINGTON — "The Soviet Union has a single goal — to see one Red flag flying at the North Pole and another Red flag flying at the South Pole, with all other flags between them removed."

Michail Makarenko has lived in the nightmarish kind of world he describes, and he doesn't recommend it.

Makarenko, 50, has a bushy beard that looks a lot like that of Karl Marx. But there the similarity ends. Marx is revered by Moscow as the philosophical father of communism, while Makarenko is regarded as a vexing thorn in communism's side.

On a recent morning in downtown Washington, Makarenko, a leading Soviet dissident and exile described the terror of living in Russia's vast gulag archipelago — a system of nearly 2,000 concentration camps and psychiatric prisons for "enemies of the state."

His odyssey began at the age of 9 when he fled his native Romania alone into the Soviet Union to escape a state campaign against Jews. He was arrested by the KGB, the Soviet secret police, and sent to an orphanage.

As the flames of war spread across Russia a year later, 1941, he ran away from the orphanage and joined the "front," living with kind-hearted Russian soldiers for the next three years. Makarenko later became a member of the official communist youth organization, Konsohol.

But his rise among privileged Soviet youths ended abruptly at the age of 16 when he was to receive his first Soviet passport. Unwilling to forsake his roots any longer, Makarenko, when asked his nationality, replied, "Jew." A feverish campaign against Jews had been launched, and the admission easily could have cost him his life. Instead he was imprisoned for three years.

When he was 20, Makarenko began a lifelong campaign of trying to right the wrongs he saw in Soviet Society. His weapons: strong nerves and a sharp pen.

"I wrote highly critical letters to Soviet authorities, with suggestions that I thought were constructive," explained Makarenko through an interpreter. "As a result I was forced on several occasions to undergo 'observations' in psychiatric institutions."

His encounters with the KGB became more frequent. He led a strike for better conditions at his factory in Leningrad. Soviet authorities fired Makarenko from his job and took away his two children, issuing orders that he was never to see them again.

He proceeded to kidnap the children and live with them underground as a fugitive in Leningrad. Makarenko was expelled from college, his house was confiscated, and slanderous articles about him began to surface in Soviet newspapers.

As the storm of official protest raged over him, Makarenko quietly moved far away to Siberia. There, starting in 1966, he pulled off a remarkable sting operation that would leave Soviet authorities embarrassed and baffled for years to come.

Makarenko gathered together a collection of 2,300 paintings and watercolors by Russian artists of the 18th and 19th centuries and began a difficult search for a place to exhibit them.

Summoning all the guile of a lifetime as a dissenter, he convinced the Siberian wing of the Soviet Academy of Sciences that he had important "connections" among members of the Communist Central Committee in distant Moscow. The Academy thus established a fine arts museum for the paintings at its Novosibirsk Institute in western Siberia, and appointed Makarenko as director.

Makarenko proceeded in 1966 to organize the USSR's first independent non-conformist art Gallery. Over the next two and a half years, the works of Soviet painters suppressed by the Kremlin here exhibited for the first time. Films on art here shown, and musical concerts held. Admission has free.

As word of the gallery and its rare freedom of expression spread, thousands of children and youths from western Siberia flocked to Novosibirsk to experience it. Institute authorities, though nervous, were pacified by the belief that Makarenko's activites somehow were sanctioned by Moscow.

But Makarenko's dream and his remarkable museum came crashing down in 1968 after Parisian artist Marc Chagall accepted Makarenko's invitation to vist the museum for the first exhibition of his work in the USSR.

Chagall's fame bought close scrutiny by Moscow. The KGB descended on Makarenko, he was unmasked, and soon he was back in the bowels of the gulag archipelago.

(Next: Makarenko suggests how the West should deal with Russia.)

A Soviet Dissident's Warning

By LEE RODERICK
Scripp's League Newspapers

WASHINGTON — Michael Makarenko, a noted Soviet dissident and exile, has spent many of his 50 years in Russia's vast prison and psychiatric hospital system for political troublemakers.

Yet he is one of the lucky ones. Millions of his countrymen have died in the estimated 2,000 facilities of the system, while Makarenko is still alive and fired with the hope that western leaders the will yet gain the courage and vision to help deny Soviet leaders the means to carry out such repression.

One of his many imprisonments in the Soviet Union was for "agitation and propaganda directed towards the weakening and the undermining of the Soviet form of government."

"I hope I earned it," says Makarenko.

Makarenko opened a non-conformist art museum in western Siberia, where he exhibited the works of banned Soviet artists for over two years after convincing local authorities his efforts were sanctioned by communist leaders in faraway Moscow.

The exploit that finally landed him in exile, however, came in 1978 when Makarenko organized a group that unearthed a mass burial ground on the Bielomorsk-Baltic canal where an estimated 250,000 persons had died or been killed building the canal early in this century. They reportedly proceeded to bury some of the remains right beneath the central wall of the Kremlin as a monument to the victims.

Today Makarenko lives in Munich, Germany, where he continues to give Moscow fits through his writings and political broadcasts beamed into Russia from western Europe. For his efforts, says Makarenko, the KGB tried to kill him during a trip to the United States in October 1980. And his name occasionally surfaces in the Soviet press, usually attached to uncomplimentary epithets.

Makarenko was in Washington recently for a few days and, through an interpreter, suggested some lessons for the U.S. and the West gleaned from his lifetime of fighting the Soviet system.

"The Soviet Union and its system will continue to exist as long as it is able to get outside aid or sell its natural resources," said Makarenko. "Without your electronics, our rockets could not fly."

"There are two possibilities for its future: Either it will swallow the entire world through military conquest, or it will stop being the Soviet Union when some form of democratization process is carried out."

Makarenko says the gas pipeline deal between Moscow and Western Europe is a perfect example of how not to deal with the USSR.

"Thanks to the sale of Siberian gas and oil, the Soviet Union will have a large supply of hard cash," he explained. "This will be used to buy parts for rockets and other military hardware. All hard cash goes for military purposes."

The pipeline will be built across Russia's vast expanses on the backs of young soldiers and slave labor, says Makarenko, who lived for years in western Siberia. "No work will be paid for and it will all be forced labor, because no one would go voluntarily to that region."

Makarenko's chief goal is to have the parliaments of western nations formally condemn the Soviet decree of Sept. 5, 1918 that called for establishment of the first Soviet concentration camps.

"This was the first time that, through a law-making body, mass terror and concentration camps became legal. Other repression and terror rampant in the world today can trace its roots to Sept. 5, 1918 — and the failure of the world to condemn the Soviet Union's action. Other nations have found the Soviet method to be an easy way to silence dissent."

Makarenko says that the nearly 2,000 concentration camps and psychiatric hospitals today in Russia include 129 camps for women with babies two years of age and younger. Prisoners in the camps are as young as 11, he says.

But still the world is silent. It is quick to condemn apartheid in South Africa and right-wing repression in Latin America.

But who will speak out for the millions of victims in Russia's vast gulag archipelago? Unless we heed the warnings of such men as Michail Makarenko, the evil of the Soviet slave system will lap ever closer to our own shores.

The Washington Times

PAGE 2A / WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1982

Pipeline: Largest East-West transaction

"The Western specialists who will go to the Soviet Union to work on the pipeline will not see anything; they are not going to see any slave labor. The Soviet system is so well adjusted to concealing such activities that no matter how many observers, diplomats, specialists and even spies the West sends into the country they will see only what the Soviet Union wants them to see."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1982 The Washington Times

INTERVIEW

Soviet dissident intellectual Michail Makarenko on building the Soviet pipeline

Next week the Senate subcommittee on international financing and banking will hold hearings on whether the U.S. should endorse Soviet construction, with Western credits and free-world technology, of a 3,200-mile natural gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe. The project is expected to cost $10 billion, considered by experts the largest East-West business transaction in history.

Soviet dissident intellectual Michail Makarenko is expected to be one of several witnesses to appear before the subcommittee, whose chairman is Sen. William Armstrong, R-Col. Until he was exiled in 1977, Makarenko spent a total of 11 years in Soviet labor camps. He heads the Society for the Research of Problems Under Totalitarianism in Munich, West Germany

The following interview was conducted by Washington Times correspondent Jeffrey St. John and translated from Russian to English by Natalie Latter.

Q: What kind of labor will the Soviets employ if this proposed natural gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe proceeds?

A: Primarily prisoner labor; they will be the ones who will clear the forests, build the roads and the first living quarters for the more skilled specialists who will put the pipeline in place....So, as in the past, it is going to be human bodies that will thaw this unlivable tundra through which the pipeline will be built.

Q: Will this prison labor be political prisoners or ordinary criminals?

A: All prisoners will be put to work on the project. Besides, it is very difficult to separate the two because in many labor camps the prisoners are mixed together.

Today in the Soviet Union you have 2,000 camps and prisons; 150 camps are for women and children under 2 years of age alone. Hundreds of other camps are for children from 11 to 18 years of age, and many of these prisoners in the camps will be working on the pipeline.

Q: What kind of physical conditions will prisoners working on the pipeline encounter?

A: Prisoners will be obliged to work in temperatures in the winter well below freezing. This will be intolerably cold combined with Siberian winds. In the summertime, disease and insect-infested swamps also will be encountered.

Q: This pipeline project is a huge undertaking. In terms of numbers, how many workers will the Soviets require?

A: It will require enormous quantities of forced prison labor. I don't have an accurate estimate, but several years ago a railroad project of similar size was completed. On one section alone, it took an entire division of Internal Affairs Ministry forces to guard 200,000 prisoners. But whatever numbers the Soviets need for the pipeline, they will get them.

Q: We have been told here in the West that millions have perished in Soviet prison camps. You spent 11 years in one of these camps. What are the conditions in the camps that produce this high mortality rate?

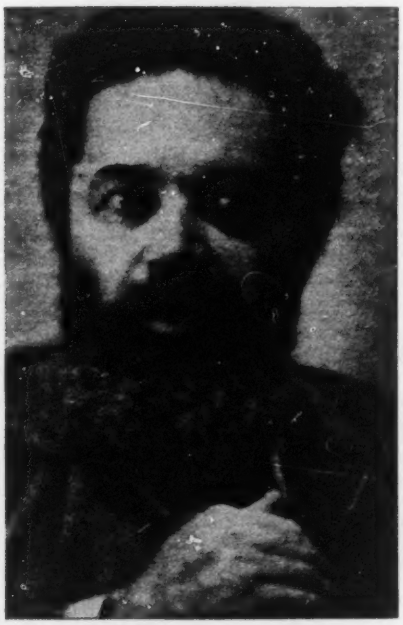
A: First, many prisoners die very young. Second they die of untreated diseases brought about by poor diet that leads to malnutrition. Third, there is a high suicide rate. Many die in brawls and fights. Many die because of homosexual rape; that is to say, sexual conditions are such in the camps that people are driven to suicide.

Q: What would be your estimate of how many will die working on this proposed pipeline?

A: I can tell you that the mortality rate will be higher than just simply the normal number of deaths in the concentration camps. Many of these prisoners will be working with new technology, so industrial accidents alone will take a toll. Very little concern is given to industrial safety in the Soviet Union. Weather conditions in Siberia, as I mentioned before, will be another factor. The mortality rate also will be high because of inadequate medical care in many remote areas of this pipeline project.

Q: What are the economic goals of the Soviets in building this huge pipeline project?

A: The main goal is hard currency. Even a small amount gained from a project has the green light and the highest priority in the Soviet Union. The fact is the pipeline will be



built entirely with Western credits and technology.

Q: Well, if the West is going to provide the technology, technicians will have to go to the Soviet Union. Will they be working with slave labor?

A: The Western specialists who will go to the Soviet Union to work on the pipeline will not see anything; they are not going to see any slave labor. The Soviet System is so well adjusted to concealing such activities that no matter how many observers, diplomats, specialists and even spies the West sends into the country they will see only what the Soviet Union wants them to see.

Q: You were in one of these labor camps for a total of 11 years and a half. Given your experience, can you tell me what you think will be the experience of those who will work on this pipeline?

A: I think their experience will be worse, although when I was in the camps I served under very difficult circumstances. In fact, old timers who had served in the camps during the era of Stalin said it was easier to serve 25 years at that time that it is to serve five years now. The hardships are greater now because then, at least, we were not thrown into the untamed wilderness as will many of those who will work on the pipeline now.

Q: The mention of Stalin raises the question of how many have died in such labor camps during the history of the Gulag.

A: The most conservative estimate, for just one period of the 1930s to the 1950s is about 52 million to 54 million deaths. This estimate was based on some research done by a Soviet scientist in secret, based on various kinds of information and sources. As soon as he published his findings he was arrested and his reward was a long term in a concentration camp. The estimate cited by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, which I accept, is 66.7 million.

I might add that such hard evidence is ignored by those in the West who want to help the Soviets build this $10 billion pipeline with the help of slave labor. I consider this not only immoral but an intrusion into the internal civil war that is going on in the Soviet Union. By building this pipeline, the West is taking sides and giving direct aid to the oppressors of the Russian people. The Western nations would have been more justified in giving economic support to Nazi Germany because there was no national, cultural and political opposition to the system of the type that continues today in the Soviet Union on a mass scale. At least 100 underground illegal publications have come out opposing the system.

Q: If, as you contend, it will require massive numbers of prisoners from the labor camps to work on this pipeline how will the Soviet Union go about marshaling this massive number?

A: The main body of the labor force will have to be mobilized as an emergency measure. Whenever a project of this magnitude comes up, and since a chronic labor shortage exists in the Soviet Union, the Soviets use dishonest and devious means.

First, they plant stories in the government-controlled media that the problem exists, usually signed by supposedly simple Soviet citizens. Second, the officials hold meetings, including judges of various courts, and make much of how ordinary citizens have brought this pressing problem to their attention. Third, a wave of arrests and prosecutions takes place of people guilty of certain "crimes" who are sentenced to labor camps. It is by this public farce that the Soviets conscript labor but make it appear legal.

PAGE 2A / *WEDNESDAY, MAY 19, 1982* The Washington Times

Q: Do you know if this same approach is being used to conscript manpower for the proposed pipeline?

A: I have no doubt that this will be done and I am sure that the campaign is already underway and at some stage of development.

Q: If Western countries help the Soviets build this pipeline what risks do we run?

A: The greatest is the immorality of the entire project, since the Soviets will use slave labor. Second, it is dangerous from the point of view of the strategic interests of the United States. The Soviets will be able to engage in gas blackmail once they have made you dependent on supply of the resource. You will be putting yourself in much the same position with natural gas as you have faced with the Arabs over oil. Third, you will give them credits and technology to build the pipeline that will, in turn, allow them to earn hard currency.

Q: To what particular purpose will they put such hard currency?

A: To make war. For military purposes, they will use the hard currency they earn from the project to buy more and more of your technology, particularly computers. They also will use the hard currency to buy grain in order to have meat and bread. This new infusion will help them maintain their hold on the Russian people and the so-called 'liberated' countries like Poland that are unable to produce and feed their own populations. You must be aware of the fact that grain bought from the West always is earmarked for the Soviet armed forces, not the people.

Q: How much damage would the Soviets sustain if the U.S. and Western countries refused to help the Soviets build the pipeline?

A: I think the economic impact would be far-reaching. For a country like the Soviet Union, over $10 billion in credits would be a badly needed transfusion for an economy in a state of stagnation. This project would be an economic life saver, a blood transfusion for a person dying from lack of blood.

Q: You are urging a total technological embargo of the Soviets like the Carter grain embargo. But some have suggested that the grain embargo had no real impact on the Soviets.

A: I will tell you something not even your CIA knows and will probably take five years to find out. When President Carter imposed the grain embargo for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Central Committee of the Communist Party had developed a plan to liberalize and even abandon the inefficent collective farms to cope with the grain shortage. A plan was developed to spend great sums of money to abandon the collective farms and encourage private enterprise in Soviet agriculture. It also was decided to exempt practically the entire agricultural population from military conscription. But when the Reagan administration lifted the grain embargo the Soviets had no need for implementing the plan.

Q: This leads me to ask you, what would be the impact if the U.S. and Western countires went ahead and helped Russia build the pipeline?

A: It would send a signal to the Russian people that the West had once again sided with their oppressors. It also would be terrible in undercutting the human rights movement in Russia. These very small achievements and accomplishments that have been made would be destroyed. The sacrifices by those like Soviet physicist Andrie Sakorov would be in vain.

Soviet Pipeline Is Challenged

WASHINGTON

EAST-West trade hawks and doves are headed for another confrontation over a Senate vote expected early this week on the ever divisive issue of the Yamal gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe and whether the Administration should take tougher action to block it.

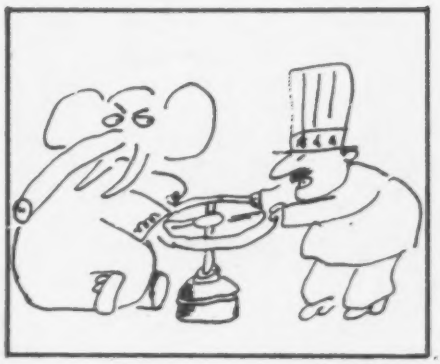
An amendment prepared by two Republican Senators, William L. Armstrong of Colorado and Jake Garn of Utah, refers to the line as an "intolerable threat" to the security of the Atlantic Alliance. It calls on the President to use all legal means at his disposal to block a French company from using technology licensed from General Electric to make the generators needed to pump gas through the line.

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. told the National Security Council Friday, according to Administration informants, that he had worked out a package for the economic summit meeting June 4-6 in Versailles, France, in which the United States would drop its opposition to the line in return for European agreement to restrain future Soviet credits.

If passed, the Armstrong-Garn amendment to a supplemental appropriations bill could undermine the Haig package, which is also being attacked by administration trade hawks led by Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger.

They believe that denial of the technology to the French company, Alsthom-Atlantique, would cause major delays in construction of the line, raise its costs and maybe even force abandonment of the project. The Soviet Union stands to earn as much as $10 billion a year in hard currency once the line is completed. Europe stands to gain jobs from its construction.

The Commerce Department, at subcabinet level, has already made a preliminary determination that the G.E.-Alsthom licensing agreement, entered into well before President Reagan tightened export controls last December, should stand unfettered. That information has already been cabled by the State Department to American missions abroad and relayed to foreign governments.



Stuart Goldenberg

So the United States could be embarrassed and charged with inconsistency if the preliminary determination were reversed in the last-ditch fight by the pipeline hawks.

The Administration has refused to lobby against the Armstrong-Garn amendment. It proclaims it is neutral. As a result, amendment supporters believe that chances of passage are relatively good.

"What the President is facing," said one Administration official, "is an incipient revolt by an unusual coalition of Republicans and Democrats, which could add to Haig's problems in Congress and be a political liability to the President himself."

Further muddying the waters, however, is a warning from France that the Paris Parliament will enact legislation ordering Alsthom not to accept any supranational American authority over the licensing agreement, should Washington move to block it. Such French action could have explosive repercussions in the United States.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, MONDAY, MAY 24, 1982

United States of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 97th CONGRESS, SECOND SESSION

Vol. 128 WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, MAY 26, 1982 No. 66

Senate

PIPELINE: LARGEST EAST-WEST TRANSACTION

● Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. President, Michail Makarenko, a Russian human rights crusader who spent 11 years inside the Gulag Archipelago for speaking out for freedom of expression, had some important and sobering insights to offer about East-West trade in general and the Yamal natural gas pipeline in particular in an interview published in the Washington Times on May 19, 1982. I urge all my colleagues to read carefully what Mr. Makarenko has said, lest we become unwitting accomplices in a gross abuse of human rights.

I submit the interview, entitled "Pipeline: Largest East-West Transaction," for printing at this point in the RECORD.

The article is as follows:

PIPELINE: LARGEST EAST-WEST TRANSACTION

(NOTE.—Next week the Senate subcommittee on international financing and banking will hold hearings on whether the U.S. should endorse Soviet construction, with Western credits and free-world technology, of a 3,200-mile natural gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe. The project is expected to cost $10 billion, considered by experts the largest East-West business transaction in history.

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(The following interview was conducted by Washington Times correspondent Jeffrey St. John and translated from Russian to English by Natalie Latter.)

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Q. Will this prison labor be political prisoners or ordinary criminals?

A. All prisoners will be put to work on the project. Besides, it is very difficult to separate the two because in many labor camps the prisoners are mixed together.

Today in the Soviet Union you have 2,000 camps and prisons; 150 camps are for women and children under 2 years of age alone. Hundreds of other camps are for children from 11 to 18 years of age, and many of these prisoners in the camps will be working on the pipeline.

Q. What kind of physical conditions will prisoners working on the pipeline encounter?

A. Prisoners will be obliged to work in temperatures in the winter well below freezing. This will be intolerably cold combined with Siberian winds. In the summertime, disease and insect-infested swamps also will be encountered.

Q. This pipeline project is a huge undertaking. In terms of numbers, how many workers will the Soviets require?

A. It will require enormous quantities of forced prison labor. I don't have an accurate estimate, but several years ago a railroad project of similar size was completed. On one section alone, it took an entire division of Internal Affairs Ministry forces to guard

200,000 prisoners. But whatever numbers the Soviets need for the pipeline, they will get them.

Q. We have been told here in the West that millions have perished in Soviet prison camps. You spent 11 years in one of these camps. What are the conditions in the camps that produce this high mortality rate?

A. First, many prisoners die very young. Second they die of untreated diseases brought about by poor diet that leads to malnutrition. Third, there is a high suicide rate. Many die in brawls and fights. Many die because of homosexual rape; that is to say, sexual conditions are such in the camps that people are driven to suicide.

Q. What would be your estimate of how many will die working on this proposed pipeline?

A. I can tell you that the mortality rate will be higher than just simply the normal number of deaths in the concentration camps. Many of these prisoners will be working with new technology, so industrial accidents alone will take a toll. Very little concern is given to industrial safety in the Soviet Union. Weather conditions in Siberia, as I mentioned before, will be another factor. The mortality rate also will be high because of inadequate medical care in many remote areas of this pipeline project.

Q. What are the economic goals of the Soviets in building this hige pipeline project?

A. The main goal is hard currency. Even a small amount gained from a project has the green light and the highest priority in the Soviet Union. The fact is the pipeline will be built entirely with Western credits and technology.

Q. Well, if the West is going to provide the technology, technicians will have to go to the Soviet Union. Will they be working with slave labor?

A. The Western specialists who will go to the Soviet Union to work on the pipeline will not see anything; they are not going to see any slave labor. The Soviet System is so well adjusted to concealing such activities that no matter how many observers, diplomats, specialists and even spies the West sends into the country they will see only what the Soviet Union wants them to see.

Q. You were in one of these labor camps for a total of 11 years and a half. Given your experience, can you tell me what you think will be the experience of those who will work on this pipeline?

A. I think their experience will be worse, although when I was in the camps I served under very difficult circumstances. In fact, old timers who had served in the camps during the era of Stalin said it was easier to serve 25 years at that time than it is to serve five years now. The hardships are greater now because then, at least, we were not thrown into the untamed wilderness as will many of those who will work on the pipeline now.

Q. The mention of Stalin raises the question of how many have died in such labor camps during the history of the Gulag.

A. The most conservative estimate, for just one period of the 1930s to the 1950s is about 52 million to 54 million deaths. This estimate was based on some research done by a Soviet scientist in secret, based on various kinds of information and sources. As soon as he published his findings he was arrested and his reward was a long term in a concentration camp. The estimate cited by Alexander Solzhenitsyn, which I accept, is 66.7 million.

I might add that such hard evidence is ignored by those in the West who want to help the Soviets build this $10 billion pipeline with the help of slave labor. I consider this not only immoral but an intrusion into the internal civil war that is going on in the Soviet Union. By building this pipeline, the West is taking sides and giving direct aid to the oppressors of the Russian people. The Western nations would have been more justified in giving economic support to Nazi Germany because there was no national, cultural and political opposition to the system of the type that continues today in the Soviet Union on a mass scale. At least 100 underground illegal publications have come out opposing the system.

Q. If, as you contend, it will require massive numbers of prisoners from the labor camps to work on this pipeline how will the Soviet Union go about marshaling this massive number?

A. The main body of the labor force will have to be mobilized as an emergency measure. Whenever a project of this magnitude comes up, and since a chronic labor shortage exists in the Soviet Union, the Soviets use dishonest and devious means.

First, they plant stories in the government-controlled media that the problem tain "crimes" who are sentenced to labor camps. It is by this public farce that the Soviets conscript labor but make it appear legal.

Q. Do you know if this same approach is being used to conscript manpower for the proposed pipeline?

A. I have no doubt that this will be done and I am sure that the campaign is already underway and at some stage of development.

Q. If Western countries help the Soviets build this pipeline what risks do we run?

A. The greatest is the immorality of the entire project, since the Soviets will use slave labor. Second, it is dangerous from the point of view of the strategic interests of the United States. The Soviets will be able to engage in gas blackmail once they have made you dependent on supply of the resource. You will be putting yourself in much the same position with natural gas as you have faced with the Arabs over oil. Third, you will give them credits and technology to build the pipeline that will, in turn, allow them to earn hard currency.

Q. To what particular purpose will they put such hard currency?

A. To make war. For military purposes, they will use the hard currency they earn from the project to buy more and more of your technology, particularly computers. They also will use the hard currency to buy grain in order to have meat and bread. This new infusion will help them maintain their hold on the Russian people and the so-called 'liberated' countries like Poland that are unable to produce and feed their own populations. You must be aware of the fact that grain bought from the West always is earmarked for the Soviet armed forces, not the people.

Q. How much damage would the Soviets sustain if the U.S. and Western countries refused to help the Soviets build the pipeline?

A. I think the economic impact would be far-reaching. For a country like the Soviet Union, over $10 billion in credits would be a badly needed transfusion for an economy in a state of stagnation. This project would be an economic life saver, a blood transfusion for a person dying from lack of blood.

Q. You are urging a total technological embargo of the Soviets like the Carter grain embargo. But some have suggested that the grain embargo had no real impact on the Soviets.

A. I will tell you something not even your CIA knows and will probably take five years to find out. When President Carter imposed the grain embargo for the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the Central Committee of the Communist Party had developed a plan to liberalize and even abandon the inefficient collective farms to cope with the grain shortage. A plan was developed to spend great sums of money to abandon the collective farms and encourage private enterprise in Soviet agriculture. It also was decided to exempt practically the entire agricultural population from military conscription. But when the Reagan administration lifted the grain embargo the Soviets had no need for implementing the plan.

Q. This leads me to ask you, what would be the impact if the U.S. and Western countries went ahead and helped Russia build the pipeline?

A. It would send a signal to the Russian people that the West had once again sided with their oppressors. It also would be terrible in undercutting the human rights movement in Russia. These very small achievements and accomplishments that have been made would be destroyed. The sacrifices by those like Soviet physicist Andrie Sakorov would be in vain.●

Western Trade a Major Subsidizer of Soviet Gulag Camps

By SEN. WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG (R.-Colo.)

"The 'heavy labor' prisoners in this camp resemble walking skeletons. Some—driven insane from hunger—devour rats, insects, even grass and leaves, in a frantic effort to stave off approaching death. Others—their hearts and minds broken—simply sit down and wait to be finished off by a blow from a guard's rifle butt."

The narrator of this grim chronicle—Michail Makarenko—is not describing Nazi Germany's Buchenwald concentration camp of the 1940s. He is referring to the Soviet Union's infamous Orel death camp—flourishing in 1982, the era known as "detente."

Michail Makarenko recently spent eight years in the vast network of some 2,000 concentration camps called the Gulag Archipelago. During his imprisonment, he saw thousands of fellow political prisoners die of starvation, exposure, exhaustion, disease, beatings and summary shootings.

Makarenko puts the number of Soviet political prisoners today at over 17 million. Asked in a recent interview how the Soviet regime could continue—from decade to decade—such a massive scale of internal oppression, Makarenko put it in just two words: "Western trade."

Invigorated by massive infusions of Western technology, scientific research, foodstuffs, raw materials, consumer goods and industrial plants—all available on easy credit terms—the Kremlin has been free to devote its entire resources to repression at home and aggression abroad.

"For over 60 years," Makarenko told a UPI reporter, "the Russian people have carried on economic war and sabotage against the Communists. Workers deliberately work poorly, feign illness, destroy machinery, waste materials—with the express intention of paralyzing the government.

"But whenever the Communist rulers have faced an economic crisis," said Makarenko, "the West has rescued them."

Western computer technology assists the KGB in its mass arrests. Western-designed trucks and tractors are used to design the special vans, tanks and armored vehicles which transport and guard millions of political prisoners.

But the saddest irony of Western-Soviet trade is that the "goods" with which the Soviets grudgingly repay some of their $80-billion debt to the West are produced with Gulag labor.

As Avraham Shifrin notes in his recent study of the Soviet camp factory systems, women in the Sakhalin Islands process caviar and crabs for export. Diamonds mined by prisoners in the Mirnyi camp are sold in the West as "Russian gems."

Today, with West German help, the Soviets are planning to build a gas pipeline across thousands of miles of frozen Siberian wasteland. The labor for this project is already being recruited KGB-style from all over the Soviet empire, according to Makarenko and other Soviet dissidents.

Mass arrests are in progress; camps are being built all along the pipeline route; and political prisoners from as far away as Vietnam are already on their way to Siberia.

This month the Senate Subcommitte on International Finance and Monetary Policy has been examining the human rights aspects of Western trade with the Soviets—with particular reference to the proposed pipeline. The significance of these deliberations will go far beyond America alone. In the words of Michail Makarenko: "This pipeline will be built, not just with your money—but with our flesh and bones. For you, it's a matter of dollars and cents. For us, it's a matter of life and limb." ■

НОВОЕ РУССКОЕ СЛОВО

СРЕДА 9 ИЮНЯ 1982 ГОДА

БОЯЗНЬ СОВЕТСКОЙ ТЕМЫ

В газете "Ньюз Ворлд" опубликована статья журналиста Мэтью Конроя, главная мысль которой заключена в вопросе: "Почему антикоммунистические фильмы делаются теперь только в коммунистических странах?"

"Это очень интересный феномен, – пишет Конрой. – Те, кто постарше и не забыли времена Второй мировой войны, могут подтвердить, что тогда не было недостатка в антинацистских фильмах. Видя на экране нацистов, американцы учились понимать суть их варварских теорий и учились ненавидеть фашизм.

Потребовались десятилетия, чтобы американские интеллектуалы, особенно те, кто формирует в нашей стране общественное мнение, поняли, что правящий класс России стремится уничтожить нас всеми способами, которые ему доступны. Можно было бы предположить, что, поняв людоедскую сущность советской власти, создатели фильмов и телевизионных передач покажут американцам двуличность и агрессивные устремления кремлевских правителей, являющихся нашими настоящими врагами. Отнюдь нет. Вместо этого нам показывают фильм "Шпион, который любит меня", где герой сотрудничает с КГБ, и комедию "Русские идут, русские идут!", посмотрев которую зритель должен успокоиться: ведь ясно же, что все эти страхи перед русскими – простая истерика!"

Мэтью Конрой пишет, что роли негодяев оставлены американским кино и телевидением только для нацистских преступников. "Я нисколько против этого не возражаю и считаю, что разоблачать фашизм необходимо, – пишет он. – Но сейчас кошмары нацизма следует показывать наравне с кошмарами коммунизма. Разве создан фильм о 60 миллионах человек, уничтоженных в СССР после Октябрьского переворота? Разве есть фильм о безумии и зверствах Сталина, который простым росчерком пера убивал миллионы? На экране телевизоров нам показали фильм по воспоминаниям Альберта Шпеера – гитлеровского министра военной промышленности. И мы увидели безумие Третьего рейха, преступность его заправил. Но где фильм о советских военных преступниках, мучимых навязчивыми идеями о мировом господстве?

Бывший узник советских лагерей, живущий теперь в свободном мире, Михаил Макаренко приехал в Соединенные Штаты в надежде найти средства, чтобы выпустить два фильма, снятых им в России и тайно вывезенных на Запад. Одна из лент носит название: "Помни!". Она посвящена тем советским подданным, которые погибли от рук советской власти в период с 1918 по 1980 годы. Вторая лента называется: "Отпусти народ мой" и рассказывает о еврейских погромах, устроенных властями в пяти разных местах страны 1 июня 1978 года.

Может быть, Макаренко нашел государственное агентство или частные группы, которые помогли ему выпустить эти фильмы на экраны? Ничего подобного. Ему удалось лишь собрать по частям, в долг, 70 тысяч долларов. Но этого совсем недостаточно для широкого проката фильмов.

Зато деньги налогоплательщиков щедро льются на создание таких фильмов, как "Подумай дважды об атомной войне", который бичует американских (не советских!) лидеров за их ядерную стратегию. Фильм этот не вызывает никаких иных чувств, кроме стремления разоружить Соединенные Штаты перед лицом его до зубов вооруженного врага.

Столь же вредным является и состоящий из семи частей фильм (стоимость его 1,5 миллиона долларов) об одном из создателей американской атомной бомбы Оппенгеймере. Из-за его контактов с коммунистами и симпатий к коммунизму Оппенгеймер был отстранен от работы".

Мэтью Конрой заключает свою статью словами: "Если наши создатели кино- и телепрограмм и дальше будут препятствовать показу правды о Советском Союзе, их близорукость будет наказана слепотой".

MICHAIL MAKARENKO:
TWENTY YEARS IN FREEDOM'S FRONTLINE

May 4, 1931	Michail Makarenko born of Jewish parents in Galatz, Romania.
Spring, 1940	Makarenko is separated from his parents during anti-Semitic riots; flees to the Soviet Union where he is arrested and interned in a special state orphanage.
Autumn, 1941	Nazi troops overrun Eastern Russia; Makarenko follows Russian troops to the front and is adopted as a "mascot" by a combat infantry company.
February 18, 1944	Makarenko is released from Military Hospital in Tbilisi after being severely wounded by shellfire. He goes to work on a collective farm in the Stalinsk region.
1948	Makarenko's internal passport and identity papers are officially stamped "Jew"; he is marked for government sanction persecution.
1948 - 1961	Makarenko spends over three years in various jails and political prisons before being permitted to join the Soviet Army. In 1955, he marries the daughter of a martyred Orthodox priest.
1961	Makarenko is officially "rehabilitated" in recognition of his military service. He obtains employment in Leningrad as an industrial carpenter.
April, 1963	Soviet authorities arrest Makarenko for his labor union activities; he is briefly confined in a "special psychiatric hospital."

August, 1963	Makarenko is fired from his job after organizing an unsuccessful strike. Later, he is expelled from Moscow University; loses custody of his three children; lives "underground" for many months.
March, 1965	Makarenko is again committed for "observation" to a KGB-run "psychiatric hospital." After his release, he goes into voluntary exile in Siberia.
Autumn, 1965	Makarenko quietly establishes an independent gallery of non-conformist Russian art in Novosibirsk Akademgorodok.
April 12, 1968	KGB agents raid the gallery and arrest Makarenko. The Soviet action is widely reported in the West; Marc Chagall and other artists protest.
Winter, 1968	Makarenko returns to Leningrad; continues his dissident activity while working as a furnace stoker.
July, 1969	Makarenko is arrested and held in Lefortovo, the main Soviet political prison. He begins writing the first of five books.
October 13, 1970	A Moscow court sentences Makarenko to eight years hard labor in Soviet concentration camps. He continues underground work within the camps.
Spring, 1973	Makarenko sentenced to three years "strick regime" isolation in the notorious Vladmir prison.
July 2, 1977	Makarenko released from prison. He is re-arrested and exiled to Luga. His family is denied permission to visit him.

August, 1977 - January, 1978	Makarenko escapes twice to Leningrad; is returned in handcuffs to Luga by KGB agents.
January 20, 1978	The Chronicle of Current Events reports "Michail Makarenko escaped the KGB for the third time"; an "all-union" search is declared.
April, 1978	Makarenko leads an expedition of Soviet dissidents to the site of mass graves near the Bielamorsk Canal; Makarenko films the event.
April 22, 1978	After a secret funeral service in Moscow, the ashes of Bielamorsk Canal victims are scattered near Kremlin Wall by Makarenko's group.
September 3, 1978	After months of international protest, Makarenko is permitted to leave the Soviet Union. He surrenders to KGB agents at Moscow airport and is placed on a waiting jet for Munich, West Germany.
Spring, 1979	Makarenko's first book, Aus Meinen Leben, is published in German by Kontinent Books.
October, 1980	Makarenko briefly visits the U.S.; meets with representatives from Amnesty International.
November, 1981	Makarenko returns to the U.S. to present his new completed samizdat documentary film to President Reagan and the U.S. Congress.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Mr. Makarenko, we are deeply grateful for your presentation.

I have a number of questions which I will want to ask you presently. Before I do so, I would like to introduce the other witnesses and hear their prepared remarks, and then I have questions for each of the witnesses which I would like to present.

At this time, I would like to ask for the testimony of Mr. Doan Van Toai. Mr. Toai is a formal official of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam. For a brief time after the fall of Saigon, Mr. Toai was an official in the Ministry of Finance in the new Communist government.

But being a Nationalist, rather than a Communist, he quarreled often with the North Vietnamese over their repressive policies. For this, he was arrested and served 28 months in Vietnamese prisons and concentration camps.

Mr. Toai emigrated to the West in 1978. He is the author of "The Vietnamese Gulag" and numerous articles about the plight of the Vietnamese people under the Communist regime. He is presently associated with the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University, where he is working on another book about Vietnam.

Accompanying Mr. Toai is Le Thi Anh, a writer, scholar, and human rights activist who served in the anti-French resistance movement in Vietnam from 1945 to 1952.

A pacifist who opposed U.S. involvement in Vietnam, Ms. Anh is the director of the Vietnamese Information Bureau, a private organization which provides information on refugees, conditions in Vietnam, and the resistance movement in that country.

Mr. Toai, we are very pleased to have you with us and we're looking forward both to your opening remarks and to the opportunity to ask questions of you.

STATEMENT OF DOAN VAN TOAI, FLETCHER SCHOOL OF LAW AND DIPLOMACY, TUFTS UNIVERSITY, MEDFORD, MASS.

Mr. TOAI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

SLAVE LABOR

I am glad to be here to explain to the chairman, the Senators, and the staff members, and ladies and gentlemen about the "slave labor" deported to the Soviet Union.

I think we don't have much time, but I am taking the liberty of making a few remarks.

You know, the first initial news of this deportation was reported firsthand by the London Economist magazine on September 17 last year, and it was extensively reported by the French mass media. But both Hanoi and Moscow did not deny it.

The Soviet Union and the Vietnam have angrily reacted against the Western mass media since the mass media discovered that these deported workers were actually working on the Soviet gas pipeline, because the Communists think that we in the West discovered the truth and knew what they are doing now.

The building of the gas pipeline is not only for the purpose of economic and industrial development but also for the purpose of strengthening the war machine of the Soviet Union.

Second, the Labor Treaty of Soviet and Vietnam was signed in 1981—is only an additional agreement of the Friendship Treaties signed between the Soviet and Vietnam since November 1979, which also granted the Russians to use military bases in Vietnam and to use the river systems of Vietnam.

Third, neither the Soviet nor Vietnamese Communists have denied that the Vietnamese workers have not involved in building the gas pipelines and they did not reply how many workers will be sent to the Soviets for the next many years.

The denials of both Moscow and Hanoi propaganda machines are very incompatible and confused. Mr. Dao thien Thi, Minister of Labor of Hanoi, wrote recently an article published in the Nhan Dan Party Daily News on May 4 of this year, saying two things:

First, the Soviet Union has sent to Vietnam many tens of thousands of Russian advisers.

Second, hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese have been sent to the Soviet to study, to labor, and to research.

And the number of the Vietnamese workers that were sent to the Soviet Union last year—we don't have the exact number—but according to the denials of both Moscow and Hanoi, we can say that last year Vietnam sent to Hanoi between 24,500 to 60,000 workers.

I personally receive many letters from Vietnam, and in my additional statement, which I request be inserted into the record, I gave here nine names of the Vietnamese people who were sent to the Soviet Union last year. About the address of these people, I did not write it clearly, because for the safety reprisal of these people.

The fourth remark, the article in the Far Eastern Review recently and the letters we have received from Vietnam have said that the Vietnamese workers who were exported to the Soviet Union have not been allowed to write or contact with their family outside of the Soviet Union. Some of the workers were also sent directly from the re-education camps to Siberia.

PAY OFF DEBT TO MOSCOW

The last remark—looking at the background of the workers, one may conclude that Hanoi is, in fact, using one stone to kill two birds. It saves the cost of feeding half a million mouths and it eliminates the opposition and the dangerous elements at home. At the same time, they pay off the debt to Moscow.

Le-Duan, Secretary General of the Vietnamese Communist Party, has recently instructed his party members that the workers have to fulfill two strategical duties. One is to build communism in the Soviet Union, and the second is to build socialism in Vietnam.

In the fifth congress of the party, convened last March, Le-Duan also said that—"that the Vietnam-Soviet treaty of November 1979 upgrades the relationships of our two countries into a new phase. The Vietnamese Communist Party and the entire people have to end the war to accomplish this treaty and must consider it as the basic principle of their own foreign policy."

So, may I conclude that we in the West based on the parties of the United Nations chapter—let us ask the United Nations, inter-

national labor movements to make a full investigation of this inhuman issue.

We ask Hanoi and Moscow to allow an impartial international delegation to go and investigate this matter.

We urge the countries who sell the pipelines to the Soviets and who want to give aid to Vietnam to verify these facts.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the staff.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Mr. Toai.

Your entire statement I have reviewed, will be placed in the record of this proceeding. I am going to encourage my colleagues to study it very carefully, because the information presented in your written statement goes well beyond what you have said this morning. We're very grateful to you for it.

[The complete statement follows:]

STATEMENT BY DOAN VAN TOAI

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, ladies and gentlemen.

My name is Doan Van Toai, I am 36 years old, and the author of the book "The Vietnamese Gulag." It is an honor and a pleasure to appear before you today to discuss my Vietnamese people and also the untold tragedy befalling them at this time.

The Vietnamese Communists have done the unbelievable—yet it is the truth! They have defeated the French, the Americans and unified the country, but in so doing they have committed many errors and atrocities against their compatriots beyond the imagination of decent human beings. The world, therefore, cannot comprehend these errors and atrocities. They invaded Cambodia, occupied Laos, depended upon the Soviet Union and moved against China. They expelled the ethnic Chinese and their Vietnamese compatriots, and even worse, today they export large numbers of Vietnamese workers to Siberia. To the Vietnamese people, this tragedy is a reminder of the exported African slave labor to North America in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The Vietnamese refugees throughout the world have constantly received the letters from Vietnam displaying the emotion, anxiety, and hopelessness of those who are remaining in Vietnam. The mass media in European countries have extensively reported this tragedy, but some American public opinion still disbelieves this news. When I wrote the article about this issue for the Wall Street Journal one editor asked me where I could find that kind of information. Almost all of the Westerners I have talked with asked for substantive evidence and reliable information for all this news. It is easy to get information from Chile, from Argentina, or from South Korea, but it is not easy to collect it from any of the Communist countries; and it is yet more difficult to get the actual evidence from the Vietnam Communist where there is no freedom for the foreign reporters or for any visiting impartial international organization.

My compatriot Le Thi Amnh, has recently reported to you much information collected from the Vietnamese remaining in Vietnam. As a scholar and the one who has at one time lived and worked with the Vietnamese Communists, I would like to take the liberty here of making a few remarks about the Soviets and Hanoi's reactions to this matter of deportation.

The initial news of this deportation was reported firsthand in the London Economist magazine on September 17, 1981 and it was then repeated by the French mass media. They were talking about the Hanoi authorities having exported 500,000 (five hundred thousand) Vietnamese workers to the Soviet Union—all of whom were between 17 and 35 years of age. Among these workers were so-called "reactionary elements," the stubborn people, the suspected pro-China sympathizers, the independent elements in the former NLF-Vietcong. The working conditions are very harsh and are situated in the coldest area of Siberia. This information also said that 60 percent of their salaries would payoff Hanoi's debts to Moscow, the Vietnamese government would take 20 percent and the workers would receive only the remaining 20 percent. The New York Times last December reported that Hanoi had sent 15,000 (fifteen thousand) Vietnamese workers to Bulgaria. Both Hanoi and Moscow kept silent and never repudiated this information until the Western mass media discovered that these deported Vietnamese workers were actually working on the Russian-built gas pipeline.

First, Hanoi and Moscow announced that "the European Press are slanderers in their bourgeois way," and that "the mass media in the West is involved in the campaign of falsification and anti-Vietnamese." Second, they defended themselves concerning the working conditions and the workers' salaries. Izvestia, Moscow's newspaper said "the Vietnamese are working in the regions with the most suitable climate for them as South Siberia, and the Caspian Sea . . ." and "the Vietnamese had all rights and freedoms provided by Soviet laws." The paper also said "the Vietnamese get free taxtbooks, other study materials, and are given well appointed housing . . .". (This falsehood is similar to the lie in 1979 when Hanoi authorities said that the prisoners in the re-education camps has meat and milk to eat everyday while the people outside had no meat and milk to eat.)

Later, Tass agency said "at their discretion they can remit part of their earnings to their families at home." This explanation, as the International Herald Tribune remarked, "means that the Vietnamese are not free to dispose of their entire income as they choose."

Concerning the period of time worked and the nature of the work, Tass commented "the Vietnamese are sent mainly for training and work "implying that some might be coming for work only and they work at chemical, textile and machine building plants and irrigation and land reclamation projects." But Leonid A. Kostin, a first deputy Chairman of the Soviet government's State Committee for Labor made it clear by saying "the programs provided for a four or up to five years for the Vietnamese, one year for training and the other four for work." While Hanoi's military daily news Quan doi NHAN Dan on January 31, 1982 said that 60,000 (sixty thousand) Vietnamese were sent to Soviet Russia, the pro-government magazine KET-HOP, published in Belgium said that Hanoi has sent 50,000 (fifty thousand) workers to Russia.

However, the Hanoi Embassy in Paris on 16th April 1982 issued an official communiqué saying that "in 1981 Vietnam only sent 24,500 (twenty four thousand five hundred) workers to Russia and other socialist countries including 5,000 to the Soviet Union and 11,000 to Czechoslovakia." The destination of the remainder was not given . . . yet Izvestia claimed "7,000 Vietnamese workers were working in the Soviet Union."

All of us knows that 5,000 or 7,000 Vietnamese workers cannot in themselves be a major factor in the Soviet labor force of 48 million. These inconsistencies in numbers remind us of the similar denial in 1978 when Hanoi's authorities said they detained only 50,000 prisoners in the re-education camps, but Prime Minister Pham van Dong later said that he released over one million people from the camps! Neither the Soviets nor Vietnamese Communists have denied that the Vietnamese workers will not be involved in building the gas pipeline, and they have ignored the question of how many workers will be exported to the Soviet Union in the future.

Right now, I can give you a short list of nine Vietnamese who are forced to go and work as slaves in Siberia to help construct the gas pipeline. These 9 victims are people I recently met through my friends and their relatives still living in Vietnam. Any person can collect such information by contacting Vietnamese refugees living throughout the world.

(1) Pharmacist Truong ba Trung, 35, former activist of the third force of Saigon, lived in Le van Duyet street, Ho Chi Minh city, Hoa Hung.

(2) Tran minh Tri, former deputy chief district, now is in the Camp of Thanh Hoa, North Vietnam.

(3) Nguyen van Bay, former officer of the local army unit of the National Liberation Front of Ben Tranh district, Dinh Tuong province.

(4) Tran trung Son, former student activist, Saigon University, Hong thap Tu street, Ho chi Minh city.

(5) Le thi Cuc, former police agent of Saigon regime, released from a re-education camp, (last year), le Quang Dinh street, Binh Thanh district, Ho chi Minh City.

(6) Tran cong Nam, former Vietnamese Communist Party member, expelled last March, ethnic Chinese, Hieu Xuong district, Phu Yen province.

(7) Nguyen van Binh, 28, worker, Le Minh Zaun New Economic Zone, (whose relatives escaped from Vietnam in 1978).

(8) Tran thi Nuoc, 32, former worker and small street merchant, was suspected of having business contacts with an American G.I., Nguyen thien building, Binh Thanh district, Ho chi Minh city.

(9) Tran van Mung, Binh Dai district, Ben Tre, was arrested as "a suspected reactionary" and released last April.

These victims are really worried about their fate in the Soviet Union, they wrote to their relatives and to me saying that "it is a voyage without return" because there is no law to protect them and they have never signed any contract with the

Vietnamese government nor Soviet authorities. They wrote cynically that "in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the proletariats are for sale." They wonder who will judge the disputes between the Vietnamese workers and the Russian masters, and they do not know even when they may return because Hanoi tells them that "you have an honor to fulfill in international duty and internationalist obligation" as indicated in the political report of the Vietnamese Communist Party. The greatest tragedy is, however, that they have to separate from their families for an unknown time.

Looking at the background of the victims, and their letters to their relatives, it becomes obvious they are being forced to go to work in the Soviet Union, and also it is clear these are people who do not like the regime or the regime does not like them. Hanoi is, in fact, using one stone to kill two birds: it saves itself the cost of feeding half a million mouths and it eliminates the opposition and the dangerous elements at home. At the same time, it assists in the building of a strategic project for the Soviet Union.

We also find substantial evidence by reading the Nhan Dan, Party daily paper published in Hanoi. Since I have actually read this paper I can report that on March 29, this year, Batrop Max-gor-ov, on behalf of the Soviet Communist Party visited Vietnam and said: "The Soviet Union and Vietnam have firmly and actively cooperated in all fields: political, economic and defense to develop largely the natural resources in Siberia and in Far Eastern areas." He also stated "For the next five years, the quantity of transportation between our two countries will be doubled. The cooperation firmly proves the power and efficacy of the Soviet-Vietnam friendship. . . we have the ability and power to accomplish that to which we have agreed. . ."

In the political report read before the fifth Congress of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Le-Duan the Secretary General of the Party declared: "the firm cooperation and solid cooperation with the Soviets is a principle, a vital strategy and also is a revolutionary sentiment of the Vietnamese people. Our Party has the duty to teach the Vietnamese people and their next generations to hold this principle and to learn by heart this strategy." Two months ago, in honoring Le-Duan the Soviets awarded him the Lenin medal. In appreciation he said, "the Vietnam-Soviet Treaty of November 1979 upgrades the relationship of our two countries into a new phase. The Vietnamese Communist Party, and the entire people have to endeavor to accomplish this treaty and must consider it the basic principle of their own foreign policy.

Between the 13th and 27th April of this year, Vice Chairman Tokarov of the Council of Study of the Labor Force of the Soviet Union came to visit Vietnam to help Vietnam re-evaluate, rebuild, re-organize and re-distribute the Vietnamese labor force. At the same time, V.A. Pechekop, chief of the Soviet Propaganda Advisory Board visited Vietnam to unify the propaganda from between the two countries. It is worth noting that these two visits coincided one with the other!

I would like to insert here a part of the article of Dao thien Thi, Minister of Labor of Vietnam and I would recommend to those who are still skeptical about this deportation of Vietnamese workers to the Soviets Union to read this article entitled "Strengthening the Cooperation of Laborers Between the Soviet Union and Vietnam." It was published in Nhan Dan, The Vietnamese Communist Party daily on April 5, 1982.

The agreements and solutions concerning the labor co-operation signed by Vietnam and the Soviet Union one year ago has received excellent results and given important significance to the building up of socialism in Vietnam. . . Under various methods and forms, the Soviets have sent many tens of thousands of experts to Vietnam to build up the cultural, scientific and industrial . . . bases, helping in the training of Vietnamese cadres and technicians. The Soviet Union has also received hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese students, technicians, researchers and laborers going to Russia.

Accordingly, in the spirit of the cooperation-friendship treaty of our two countries, entered into a year ago, the Soviet Union-Vietnam have increasingly opened into full cooperation under the new methods and the new forms, especially the labor cooperation between our two countries.

The new forms incorporated have the Vietnamese laborers working at the same time as being trained. This form must be extended for 5 or 6 years . . . The Vietnamese workers who are working and being trained should fulfill two duties: to contribute their efforts in building communism in their Soviet brother country and to build Vietnam's future later. It is a combination between the patriotic spirit and internationalist spirit. . .

In the first year of carrying out the treaty and due to the common efforts on both sides, our two countries have accomplished the project of 1981 in the field of quantity, quality and timing of labor cooperation. . . In 1982 we will draw on our experiences and accordingly, the treaty agreed upon between our two countries relating to labor cooperation will certainly have been strengthened in development, in quantity and other various fields. . . .

Last year, Hanoi conceded that 24,500 laborers were exported. Next year this number will certainly be many more, at least double as Mr. Max-go-rov stated. And Max-gor-rov has stated clearly that Vietnam and the Soviet Union have cooperated to work in Siberia for the natural resources.

This labor cooperation is a result of the treaty of November 1979 between the Soviets and Vietnamese which also granted the Soviet Union the use of the military bases in Danang and Camranh Bay for their common military and strategic objectives in the area.

It is clear that Hanoi and Moscow not only cooperated together in occupying Laos and Cambodja but also in the global strategy of the whole world, namely the building of the natural gas pipeline, which is certainly not simply for economic and industrial purposes.

In conclusion may I say that the use of Vietnamese workers as slaves is a shameful and brutal reality. It is indeed, an insulting challenge to all people. On the basis of the United Nations Charter, let us urge the U.N. and the international labor movements to make a full investigation of this inhumane issue. We urge Hanoi and Moscow to allow an impartial international delegation to go and investigate this matter. We urge the countries who sell the pipline to the Soviets, and who want to give aid to Vietnam to verify these facts of which I speak and are taking place this very minute.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, may I express my deep appreciation of both my compatriots and myself for your investigation of this Soviet-instigated slavery of my Vietnamese brothers.

Thank you.

Published figures of Vietnamese slaves deported to Siberia and Socialist states at Moscow's behest

London Economist, Sept. 17, 1981	500,000
New York Times, December 1981 (sent to Bulgaria)	15,000
Hanoi Military Daily News, Jan. 31, 1982	60,000
KET-HOP, published in Belgium	50,000
Hanoi Embassy in Paris, April 16, 1982 (5,000 in Soviet Union and 11,000 in Czcheckoslovakia, whereabouts of others unknown)	24,500
Izvestia, 1982--to the Soviet Union	7,000

In Vietnam's Gulag, the Captives Die a Slow Death

Mr. Hoang van Hoang, former politbureau member of the Vietnamese Communist Party, exiled in China told to me that, "the police agents are placed in every department of the administration, and in every organization in Viet Nam today". Mme Duong Quynh Hoa, former Minister of health of the PRG speak out from Vietnam that "Vietnam today is becoming a police state!" There are from 50,000 to 800,000 prisoners in Vietnam today, one can collect thousands of witnesses among the Vietnamese refugees throughout the world who have recently escaped from Vietnam by boat.

The present regime used food as a pressure to govern the people, compelling them to obey, breaking all resistance. Any individual thought, however constructive it may be, although it may never be put into action, is branded reactionary and can entail arbitrary imprisonment for he who dares express it. Those who run the Law courts, the police, the Deputies in the National Assembly are all in fact political cadres, and members of the Party. They therefore have to follow the directives of the one Party. Vietnam is maybe a unique country without having any law book and any law school.

Because the imposing communism over the country, the regime has faced off massive opposition from all social levels, the Security Forces of the current government has indiscriminately imprisoned old people, women and invalids. It has also detained the mad, children and even the newly born! Despite the already impressive number of prisons left by the Thieu government, the existence of which at one time was severely condemned by international opinion the Communist Government can no longer find enough room to incarcerate their numerous prisoners, the Police have had to transform schools, hotels, and even orphanages into prisons.

There are two types of prisons in Vietnam: official prisons and concentration camps. These latter are deep in the jungle where the prisoner is condemned in perpetuity to forced labor, without trial and without any lawyers to defend him.

THE OFFICIAL PRISONS

The experiences of Doan Van Toai, 28 months in Le-Van-Duyet prison—T. 20, Saigon area (this part was printed in the Wall Street Journal 21. Aug, 1980 and was broadcasted in a program of B.B.C. Television Oct 1978, called The Price of Freedom).

"One evening about seven years ago (June 22, 1975) I was at a concert in Saigon given by the National Concert Orchestra of North Vietnam. Suddenly down the aisle marched Communist secret police, all carrying guns. They came up and said: 'let's go outside'. They led me into an office of the theater. They said 'are you Doan van Toai?' and I answered: 'yes'. They did not say anything more but forced me to stand there for about an hour. Later they took me to the police headquarters and said: 'we are arresting you.' I asked: 'why are you arresting me? what I have done?' but they only replied: 'the best thing is for you to think and remember, it is for you to work out.'

I was taken to a small cell. It was very dark—the only light coming from a small hole which I could breathe fresh air. The first night I slept easily as I was still optimistic because I knew that I hadn't done anything. Each day, I made a notch on the wall and soon I had been there for seven weeks. My only visitor was another prisoner—a girl who every morning would bring me a bowl of rice. The first day she came I was very hungry and began to gulp the rice down, but I soon realized they must have mixed some sand with it. It was impossible to eat. When they finally called me for questioning I asked the official why they had put sand in my rice. 'So you remember what you have done wrong in the past,' he said. They made me write an account of my life and every morning would take me to their office where the air was very fresh. I wrote pages and pages so as to postpone the time when I would once more be shut up all day long. . . .

After I finished my account I was taken to Le-Van Duyet prison in the center of Saigon where I stayed for over two years. I was put in a small cell with 50 others. People died every day through lack of medical attention and in the evening you could hear the voices call out: 'Warden, this is room number three, someone has just died'. . . .

When I was released my friends still in prison asked me to tell the world what is happening and if no on will stand up to the Vietnamese Communists to send them cyanide to put an end to their agony.' Help us to die quickly', they said. In Vietnam nobody dares to protest for fear of arrest of their relatives. Few people abroad speak because they fear for safety of their families still in Vietnam. . . ."

All communication between the prisoner and his family is absolutely forbidden, even by letter. Thus, the family of a prisoner, totally ignorant of the prisoner's fate, is plunged into unbearable anguish, and in the face of these humiliating discriminatory measures, is forced to keep silent for fear that the prisoner, used as a kind of hostage, could be murdered at any moment without their knowledge.

Each prisoner receives the equivalent of 9.20 piasters per month (about 3.50 US$ at the official exchange rate or 0.20 at the black market rate). In reality, corruption among the cadres and inflation are such that prisoners receive at most 70 percent of the expected ration. Those who are put in the official prisons are the people who are suspected as 'stubborn, or related with the foreigners, pro-Chinese elements and reactionaries', in general they are all political prisoners. Those who are put in concentration camps are the people who had worked and associated with the former regime or with the Americans.

THE RE-EDUCATION CAMPS

Example No. 1 of the 'first step to hell', in the names of Le-Van-Duyet Prison (a) the most fortunate: these are housed in cells built by the French more than 30 years ago, measuring 20 meters long by 5 meters wide, with a ceiling 6 meters high, the front and back of the cells are fitted with bars allowing the circulation of air. The prisoners have their own water supply. Under the former regime these cells each contain 20–25 prisoners. Today 60–70 are crammed into each cell.

(b) The less fortunate: these are held in the newly constructed zones C1, C2 and built in October 1975 by the Secret Police. Each cell measures 8 meters in length, 5 meters in width and 3.50 meters in height. There is no ceiling, only a sheet of corrugated iron, creating an unbearable temperature. All sides are blocked in, and the

only air supply for all 30–40 prisoners comes from an air vent in the wall measuring 10 cm x 15 cm. There is no water supply.

(c) The least fortunate: They are thrown into dungeons 2m long, 1 m wide and 2 m high. The only air hole measures 10 cm x 15 cm. Prisoners are kept handcuffed with the left foot attached to the right hand and the right foot attached to the left hand. These cells are reserved for new arrivals.

The regulations in this prison are extremely severe: prisoners are not allowed to move around or to go out into the sun. Many have been confined here for more than two years.

Example No. 2, Long Thanh Re-education camp, (formerly Long Thanh orphanage). This prison is relatively well aired, having been converted by the prisoners themselves. They sleep on the floor and have a small walking space. From 6 am to 6 pm the prisoners work in the fields, they plant vegetables, rice chop trees and carry rocks. The camp superintendent fixes the rate of production the lightest rate being to chop down and polish 80 bamboos per day, with a small knife as the only tool.

On three times a year, the prisoner is allowed to write (New year day, Labor day, and National day), provides his letter strictly conforms with the Prison Superintendent's instructions and follow to the letter the 3 following topics: "I am well" (whatever the prisoner's actual physical condition). "The government is merciful to me" (for all my wrong doings). "At home, you must obey the orders of the government (which is so generous to us).

PRISONERS FAMILIES

Prisoner's families are obliged: to go to New Economic Zone, a kind of concentration camp. To give all their belongings up to the Government in the hope of obtaining the prisoner's release. Work double time, without pay in the areas, digging trenches, sweeping street and cleaning lavatories to "redeem the prisoners' errors".

It is true that few journalists have sometimes been to visit camps on the spot. But how could they know that the 1,000 prisoners were infact 1,000 disguised Communist cadres who had learnt their roles by heart. Among the journalists, those who dares to say the truth and to write the truth will not be allowed to come to visit Vietnam again. The policy of blackmail is strictly carried out for anyone and at everywhere. This is all calculated to deceive international public opinion and distort the truth.

There is different measures between the atrocities in Cambodia and in Vietnem, but the most difference is in Cambodia, the victims died fast, but in Vietnam, they died slow.

Senator ARMSTRONG. If you can remain at the witness table, we're going to recognize Ms. Anh, then the Ambassador. And I'll present some questions for all witnesses.

Ms. Anh, we are glad to welcome you this morning. We look forward to hearing your testimony as well.

STATEMENT OF LE THI ANH, DIRECTOR OF THE VIETNAMESE INFORMATION BUREAU, CHEVERLY, MD.

Ms. ANH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I really appreciate the opportunity to be present here today, not only to give additional information regarding the use of Vietnamese slave labor in the construction of the gas pipeline, but also I think that this will give me an excellent opportunity to talk about those Vietnamese who, because of their past association with the United States in Vietnam, or with the Western culture, or with the former regimes in South Vietnam, are now inside the barbed wires of so-called "reeducation camps."

REEDUCATION CAMPS

I think their fate has never been brought up in front of the U.S. Congress, and, as you know, some might think that they are there because they have been part of the corrupt Saigon Government. But may I call your attention to the fact that those are the true

believers in democracy, because if they were part of that corrupt government, the Saigon regime, they would now be enjoying their millions on the French Riviera or in the suburbs of the U.S. capital, but not in reeducation camps in Vietnam.

Their fate is now—as you know, they might finish their life as slave laborers in Siberia, and I think it would be morally very wrong for the United States to have any part on that issue. I mean the building of the gas pipeline. It is out of my presentation here, but I would like to call your attention to the fact, that those have been associated with the Americans in Vietnam and now they are in reeducation camps because of that association.

There are clear indications, there are letters from those reeducation camp inmates written to their relatives, in the United States and in France, strongly indicating that the Vietnamese Government is considering sending them to the Soviet Union, the reasons are very obvious.

Communist societies, as everyone knows, are totalitarian and single-minded. In order to impose their rule upon a society that has been traditionally democratic, such as the southern society, of course, they have to eliminate, they have to purge, they have to cleanse the society of all the "impurities," the "counterrevolutionaries," the reactionaries, the indesirables, the unredeemables.

What way would they eliminate those? There have been a number of small-scale executions of those they believe to be hardcore anti-Communists. And the remaining, if they leave those free in the society, then they fear that those pro-Western or Western-educated members of the Saigon Government or members of the Saigon Army would create trouble, would spread or lead anti-Communist resistance, would try to overthrow the Communist regime. So they have to remove them and put them in a place, lock them up in a place where those undesirables would not be in a position to harm the regime.

They lock them up, in concentration camps, and now those concentration camps have lasted for 7 years. But now those concentration camps, those "reeducation camps," are a problem, a headache for the Vietnamese Government. As you well know, because the number and the treatment of those inmates of the concentration camps are the subject of constant inquiry by the human rights groups like Amnesty International, Joan Baez' Humanitas, among others. U.S. legislators, journalists, statesmen inquire about them too.

Senator ARMSTRONG. I am very sorry to interrupt. The bells which have rung are the second bells to signal a rollcall vote on the floor of the Senate. So I must again recess the hearing for about 10 minutes, which is about how long it will take me to go to the floor and vote and return.

If I may just interrupt you at this point, we will pick up right here about 10 minutes from now. We will stand in recess.

[Recess.]

Senator ARMSTRONG. The committee will return to order. Again, my apologies to the witnesses and staff for being required to interrupt briefly, and we will resume with the testimony which was in process. Ms. Anh, would you please continue?

Your entire statement, by the way, the written statement which you have submitted, which I have also reviewed, will be inserted in the record of this proceeding, and we are very glad to have your detailed observations on this matter.

Please continue.

[The complete statement follows:]

STATEMENT BY LE THI ANH, DIRECTOR OF THE VIETNAMESE INFORMATION BUREAU

The Soviet Union's chronic manpower shortage and reliance on foreign workers combined with Vietnam's high unemployment, huge debt to the U.S.S.R. and shortage of foreign exchange—and her continuing dependency upon Soviet aid to continue her occupation of Cambodia—and to guard her northern frontier against a second Chinese invasion—to keep the people's hunger under manageable proportions and the bankrupt economy going—make the export of Vietnamese laborers to the Soviet bloc not only mandatory but the most logical arrangement for both countries.

In July 1981, an agreement on "the movement of citizens of Vietnam and the Soviet Union between the two countries" was signed, which meant more Soviet advisers would come to Vietnam and more Vietnamese workers would come to the Soviet Union.

In September 1981, Vietnam Communist Party General Secretary Le Duan and To Huu visited Moscow to seek new Soviet aid commitments. President Brezhnev promised Le Duan economic and military aid. But how those debts—over $3 billion—will be paid back given the nation's extreme poverty and critical shortage of foreign currencies? The Vietnamese offered to offset their massive debts to the Soviet bloc by sending large members of Vietnamese workers to work in the Soviet Union and other Comecon countries. According to East European estimates, some 500,000 Vietnamese will work in the U.S.S.R. and other East European countries during the second Vietnamese 5 year plan—from 1981 to 1985.

The workers will receive 40 percent of their salaries in local currency, and the remaining 60 percent against Vietnam trading debts to the Soviet bloc—especially debts contracted through the purchase of military equipment for the war in Cambodia.

The Soviet Union is anything but enthusiastic about more aid to Vietnam—facing herself severe economic problems and grain shortages and not too happy with the way Vietnam mismanages the economy and Soviet aid. Unless Vietnam can demonstrate she can pay back her debts, it is unlikely that the Comecon countries would be willing to extend new credits.

Therefore, Vietnam has to export the only commodity she has ample supply of, and which is in demand in the Comecon countries, namely human labor.

Last year, the Soviet state commission for labor estimated that there were 2 million job vacancies in industry and that 750,000 additional workers were needed every year to keep existing and planned enterprises operating efficiently (N.Y. Times, May 6, 1982). According to official Soviet statements, there were around 2 million unfilled job vacancies in the Soviet Union as of November 1980—and that President Brezhnev has said that up to 400,000 additional workers would be needed in the next few years to develop new oil and gas fields in Western Siberia (The Economist Foreign Report, September 1981). In February 1981, Nguyen Lam, chairman of the state planning commission put Vietnam's unemployment figure at 1 million (ibid). Vietnam's debts to the Soviet amount to more than $3 billion—and additional debts are being contracted every day for the purchase of petroleum products, foodstuffs—and especially weapon supplies for the war in Cambodia and other fronts.

The Hanoi government defaulted on a Japanese loan early this year and despite strenous efforts, it is still unable to secure additional loans from non-communist countries.

According to a Chinese News Agency report last year, total Vietnam's foreign currency were just enough to pay for two weeks of imports. "Vietnam is dependent on the USSR for some 20 percent of her food needs—without which there would be rice riots." (Mr. Douglas Pike's testimony on the House Subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, October 15, 1981). As we all know, food riots already occured in Haiphong, Vinh and Nghe Tinh—in 1980 and 1981.

It is obvious to everyone that a sharp cut in Soviet aid would bring large scale food riots in the streets; it would bring the people's misery to unbearable levels and

would spell disaster, not only for the economy and the war in Cambodia, but ultimately for the survival of the Communist regime.

The Soviet Union is pumping aid into Vietnam at the rate of $6 million a day. Vietnam has to maintain open that lifeline. A 100 percent cut of Soviet aid would bring about general popular uprising. And the collapse of the Communist regime would come as fast as that of the Republic of (S.) Vietnam when faced with similar aid cuts in 1975.

To maintain the most vital inflow of Soviet aid, Hanoi has to pay back its debts. Vietnam has to export. She is currently exporting to the Soviet Union extremely scarce foodstuffs, clothing material and ready-to-wear. She has been exporting the ethnic Chinese for gold (estimated earnings: $4 billion worth of gold, one-third of which lost to corruption). Now the unproductive and destitute economy has nothing left to export except its unemployed manpower.

According to Nguyen Lam, Vietnam has 1 million unemployed. The real figure is several times higher; the stagnant and unproductive economy has few job opportunities. New Economic zones are failures. Unskilled manpower remains Vietnam's only exportable commodity. It coincides with the Soviet Union's great need of manpower to develop her Siberian oil and gas fields. Soviet aid is parsimoniously and grudgingly granted and received with wounded national pride and resentment.

Swallowing this pride, and their claim to national independence—Hanoi leaders have agreed to let Vietnamese workers go to the Soviet Union—with the painful awareness that this practice is very reminiscent of the French colonial practice of sending thousands of soldier/workers to France during WW I and WW II.

France drafted Vietnamese subjects to fight in the French-German war—and to work in French factories—or to wage war against the French colonies of Africa. But compared to the Vietnamese workers now in the Soviet Union, Vietnamese workers in France in the 1910's and 1930's enjoyed much more freedom.

They lived among Frenchmen, received equal pay for equal work, and received their pay in full. Thousands chose to remain in France after the end of the war. They were naturalized French citizens and their children became second generation Frenchmen.

Today "guest workers" to sister Socialist countries live in segregated quarters with no contact with the local populations.

According to Nyan Chanda writing in the Far Eastern Economic Review, May 14, 1982, unnamed Vietnamese sources in Hanoi told him that the main purpose of the manpower export is to solve the problem of unemployment, to earn foreign currencies for the country and to receive professional training. The source informed FEER that in spite of the Izvestia article asserting that Vietnamese workers receive normal wages, they, in fact, receive only room and board plus pocket money for the first three years and a salary only in the fourth year.

Vietnam's Minister of Labor, Dao Thiên Thi, writing in the Party newspaper Nhan Dan (April 5, 1982), wrote that the Vietnamese workers are being sent to cities with warm climate in southern Russia. We know that cannot be the case since families in Vietnam receive letters from their relatives working in Siberia. That is the place where there is a great demand of manpower because of development of oil and gas fields—and where the gas pipeline is being constructed.

Furthermore, most Vietnamese workers are unskilled laborers, it is unlikely that they could fill highly technical positions. The mines would be their likely place of work.

Other reasons for the export of labor are as follows: Communist societies are totalitarian and single-minded. It requires ideological purity. Therefore, political purge of undesirable, "impure" elements are inevitable. For a regime which imposed itself by force upon a democratic society, the cleaning job is monumental.

The Communist government disposes of the Southern society's "impurities" and "undesirables" by: (1) small scale execution; (2) collecting gold and pushing them out to sea; (3) for those associated with the United States or the former regime, keep them removed from mainsteam society by locking them up for life in concentration camps, euphemistically named "reeducation camps."

The purpose is to keep those troublemakers from doing harm to the regime, either by leading the anti-communist resistance or spreading anti-government sentiments.

But those "reeducation camps" have become a problem for Hanoi in world public opinion. The Communist government has been criticized by various human rights groups, and by visiting journalists and statesmen for the continuing detention without trial of hundreds of thousands of persons in jails and concentration camps.

"Reeducation camps" have become a headache for Hanoi, a source of irritation with its former friends in the international "anti-war movement"—especially Hanoi's friends and allies in the United States, who were instrumental in bringing

the aid cut—and insuring Hanoi's victory in the spring of 1975. Prominent among those inquiring human rights groups are Amnesty International, Joan Baez's Humanitas, American Friends Service Committee and Church World Service. Having no diplomatic representation in the United States, Hanoi still has to rely upon those friends, former anti-war figures—and sympathetic visiting journalists to serve as its mouthpiece with the American public.

To secure their continuing support, Hanoi has to remove that source of irritation, the "reeducation camps." A master way would be to send the residual inmates as "guest workers" to the Soviet bloc—close most of the "reeducation camps", take visiting journalists to witness the empty camps, and declare to the world that the "reeducation" has been completed, that the "reformed" citizens have "volunteered" their services in the U.S.S.R.

With one stone Hanoi wants to kill three birds: (1) Removing a major irritant between the Hanoi's regime and the Western/U.S. governments and public opinion, thus clearing the way for normalization of relations and aid—securing the most vital support of the former anti-war activists; (2) sponge off the Soviet debt, and (3) rid the country of undesirable subversive elements.

Our sources of information are as follows:

Each month, some 800 Vietnamese leave Vietnam by plane through the Orderly Departure program. They hand-carry letters from Vietnam. Since the news broke out in Europe last fall, following the publication of the Economist Foreign Report, alarmed Vietnamese in Paris contacted their friends and relatives in Hanoi to inquire. France has a pro-Communist Vietnamese community and these Vietnamese learned through their contacts in Hanoi of the government's policy regarding those "reeducation camps" inmates. Vietnam is a small world with many divided families. Some Vietnamese Communists in Paris have relatives in "reeducation camps." Sources in Hanoi told them: "The residual reeducation camp inmates are a problem for the government. Keeping them in camps, the human right people and the journalists would constantly inquire and criticize. Killing them off would earn the government the Pol Pot infamous reputation of barbaric "bloodbath." Releasing them, they would join the anti-government resistance.

Exiling them to the Soviet bloc seems to be an ideal solution for the VN government and for the host country. Hanoi has objected to the charges that reeducation manpower will be used in Eastern Europe. The Soviet Union and her allies would not use the "stubborn reactionaries" for fear of sabotage says Hanoi. It must be pointed out that the workers are shipped after initial training and categorization in Vietnam—they are shipped together with their cadremen who closely control and supervise their work.

Slaves never love their masters, yet slave labor has been extensively used in the building of the great monuments of history. The building of the Yamal gas pipeline is no exception. It is to expected that work teams composed of reeducation camp inmates and other unreliable elements will be entrusted with menial work at camp sites—such as digging, cleaning and cutting trees—while more sensitive jobs will be entrusted to reliable elements.

General census and medical examination:

In a few remote parts of the country, people of both sexes between the ages of 17 and 35 have been subjected to a general census and medical examination. They are divided into two categories. Category A includes persons from proletarian, "progressive" families. They will be drafted for service in the armed forces. Category B includes people with bourgeois or "NGUY" background (NGUY; wicked, degenerated puppets), those the government considers dangerous and unreliable elements. They will be trained in work camps and those who pass will be sent to the Soviet Union.

All the young persons undergoing the census are required to sign a statement "volunteering" their service in the the Soviet bloc. The government will use those statements to exonerate itself from charges that the workers are sent against their will. But as everyone knows, the fact of life in Communist countries is that no one can refuse to sign the "volunteer" papers.

Ongoing program of workers in the Soviet bloc:

There has been an ongoing program of Vietnamese workers in the Soviet Union when the July 1981 agreement was signed. In the old program the majority of the workers were from N. Vietnam. They signed up for three years, received some training, and although 60 percent of their salaries were used by the government to pay back debts, their lives were slighty better off than in Vietnam. Their numbers as of September 1981 was about 50,000. The majority worked in the Soviet Union—some 10,000 in and around Moscow, several thousands in Siberia and the remaining in other parts of the U.S.S.R. and other East European countries.

The Vietnamese exiles did not protest the old program because of the small number of workers involved, and the relatively voluntary character of most recruitment practices. Many North Vietnamese volunteered to work under that program because even with only 40 percent of their pay, life was still a little better in the Soviet Union than in their own country. There was more food available and the threat of hunger is less.

What alarms the Vietnamese community in the new program is the huge number; 500,000 workers will be sent in five years, reports of the use of concentration camp manpower and all other characteristics of slave labor in frozen Siberia. Most of the inmates in reeducation are originally from the South, where the climate is hot. Years of detention and starvation have taken a toll on their health. If sent to Siberia, it is unlikely that many would survive the rigors of $-50°$ temperature to eventually return home. According to the First Guidebook to the U.S.S.R. Prisons and Concentration Camps, [1] temperature in Siberia ranges from 40° to 60° below zero in winter. According to the Guidebook, and the Der Spiegel,[2] during the past 60 years, some 60 million people have died in Siberian work camps.

Recent information gathered from Vietnam, Thailand, and China on the subject of labor export to the Varsovie Pact Countries reveals that an estimated 16,000 persons have been forcibly sent to Soviet bloc since the beginning of the new program in the fall of 1981. During the first three months of 1982, two Russian ships, the *Obdorst* and the *Doudinka.* transported 2,496 workers. Aircraft carrier *Minsk* and mine sweeper *Denskoucht,* transported 3,200 persons and unloaded those at the military port of *Okhotsk* on March 26, 1982.

An East German ship named *Rugen* transported to East Europe 830 workers, bringing the total for the first trimester of 1982 to close to 6,600 persons, by ship alone.

An ad-hoc committee to oppose the deportation was formed in Paris in October 1981, Dr. Tran Van Do is the Committee's Chairman. It has sent appeals to the United Nations and other human rights and humanitarian organizations. The address is: Khanh Anh Pagoda, 14 Avenue Henri Barbusse, 92220 Bagneux, France. The name is: Ad-Hoc Committee Against the Deportation of Vietnamese Workers to the Soviet Bloc.

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[1] The First Guidebook to the USSR. Shifrin, Avraham. Stephanus, Edition Seewis, 1981.
[2] Der Spiegel. September 28, 1981, page 197.

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TRANSLATION OF LETTERS

Congressional Member or Committee: Hon. William L. Armstrong
Language: Vietnamese
Material Submitted: Letters
Date of Material: 5/20/82
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Suggested Salutation:
Translated by: Nguyen Hoa (name) Descriptive Cataloging (division) Processing Services (department)
Date: 5/24/82

[xx] Complete [ ] Abstract—Please call the Congressional Research Service (426-5700), if a complete translation is desired.

Evry, 1 May 1982

Mrs. Le Thi Anh
Vietnamese Information Bureau
3105 Crest Avenue
Cheverly, Maryland 20785

Madam:

During the period from April 6 through April 27, 1982, we received information from Vietnam, Thailand, and China regarding the export of Vietnamese labor to the Soviet Union and the countries of the Warsaw Bloc. Until the end of March 1982, approximately 16,000 Vietnamese were forced to go to these countries. During the first quarter of 1982, 2,496 workers were sent to Russia on the two Russian freighters, the OBDORST and the DOUDINKA; the aircraft carrier MINSK and the destroyer DENSKOUCHT transported 3,200 workers and docked at the OKHOTSK Naval Base on March 26, 1982. Moreover, the Rügen, an East German liner, transported 820 Vietnamese to Eastern Europe. Thus, within only 3 months, the Socialist Regime has sent 6,600 innocent Vietnamese to work as slaves in Communist countries in order to pay for the debts incurred by the Le Duan's clique during their war of aggression against our beloved South Vietnam, as well as debts incurred by their invasion and occupation of neighboring Cambodia and Laos.

Also, in reference to your letter of March 12, 1982 regarding the coming Conference to Unite All Overseas Vietnamese to be held in Washington, D. C., please send me all materials relating to the policy and plan drafted by the organizing committee, so that we could prepare before coming to the U. S.

We are looking forward to seeing you in Washington, D.C. this coming July.

Yours truly,

Mrs. Le Hoang An

HỘI TRANH ĐẤU CHO NHÂN QUYỀN TẠI V.N.
ASSOCIATION POUR LA LUTTE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME AU VIET-NAM
Siège social : 6, Place Saint-Exupéry - 91000 EVRY (FRANCE)
Tél. : (6) 077.24.12 - (1) 372.69.81

ÉVRY, ngay OI tháng 05 năm I982.

-+-

Kính gởi: Bà LÊ-THỊ-ANH
VIETNAMESE INFORMATION BUREAU
3I05, Crest Avenue CHEVERLY
MARYLAND 20785.

Kính Chị,

Trong khoảng thời-gian từ 06 đến 27-4-I982, chúng tôi đã nhận được một số tin-tức đặc-biệt, phát-xuất từ trong nước, từ Thái-Lan và Trung quốc, liên quan đến vấn-đề ngụy quyền Hà-nội xuất-cảng Nhân-công Việt-Nam sang Liên-Xô và các quốc gia thuộc khối Varsovie. Tính đến cuối tháng 3/82 vừa qua tổng số công nhân VN bị cưỡng-bách đưa ra nước ngoài vào khoảng I6.000 người, riêng trong độ nhất tam cá nguyệt của năm 82, hai tàu chở hàng của Nga mang tên OBDORST và DOUDINKA mang đi 2496 công nhân, đặc-biệt Hàng-không mẫu hạm MINSK và Trục lôi hạm DENSKOUCHT đã chở hơn 3200 người và sau đó cập bến quân-sự OKHOTSK ngày 26-3-82. Hơn thế nữa, một tàu đi biển của Đông Đức RÜGEN đưa sang Đông Âu 830 người. Như vậy, chỉ vỏn-vẹn trong vòng 3 tháng, gần 6.600 dân lành Việt-Nam bị đưa đi làm nô-lệ các nước Cộng-sản theo chế-độ Xã-Hội Chủ nghĩa để trừ vào món nợ quân-sự mà tập đoàn Lê Duẩn vay mượn trong thời-gian gây chiến-tranh ở miền Nam thân-yêu của chúng ta, cũng như hiện đang tiếp tục xâm chiếm hai lân quốc Miên Lào.

Ngoài ra, tham chiếu vào lá thư của Chị đề ngày I2-3-I982, để có đủ yếu-tố căn bản ngõ hầu sửa-soạn sang Hoa-Kỳ tham dự Đại Hội Thống Nhứt Người Việt Hải Ngoại do Chị khởi-xướng, nếu có-thể được, xin Chị gởi cho một số tài-liệu liên-quan đến các dự-thảo về chủ-trương, kế-hoạch của Ban Tổ-chức.

Chúng tôi hy-vọng sẽ gặp được Chị vào cuối tháng 7 năm nay tại Thủ-đô Hoa-Thịnh-Đốn.

Kính chào và chúc Chị thành-công.

Kính,
Bà LÊ-HOÀNG-ÂN

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Paris 18 January 1982.

Dear Uncle and Auntie:

A Vietnamese lady who just arrived here from Vietnam under the Family Reunification Program told me that she had met with DUNG when visiting her brother at the Reeducation Camp. According to her, DUNG told her that the detainees of this camp would all be sent to Siberia. I wrote you this letter to ask you to try your very best to get DUNG out of that camp. I am very worried for him. Lately, his health has not been very good.

We all wish you a very Happy New Year.

Paris le 18. 1. 82.

Kính thưa Cậu mợ.

Cháu vừa được tin em Dũng nhắn một người quen vừa tới Pháp bằng cách đi đoàn tụ gia đình - vì tuần khi đi hồi tháng 11/81 bên ta có ra thăm mười người em trai cùng 4 một trai với em Dũng. Nên em có nhắn bằng nhời là có tin họ sẽ gửi những người trong trại cải tạo đi Tây Đức Hội Á. Cháu vừa nghe tin này với nói ngay để cậu mợ liệu mà lo gấp cho em Dũng ra khỏi trại càng sớm càng tốt. Cháu thấy rất là lo cho em, vậy Cậu mợ nhờ ai quen xuể tiến việc này ngay đi ạ! Nói này sức khỏe em cũng không được tốt.

Nhân dịp sắp sang năm nhâm Tuất Chúng Cháu xin Kính Chúc Cậu mợ cùng tất cả các em một năm mới nhiều sức khỏe. nhiều niềm vui và được Vạn sự như ý.

Kính thư.

Hoan

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TRANSLATION OF LETTERS

Congressional Member or Committee: Hon. William L. Armstrong
Language: Vietnamese
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Dalat 1 April 1982

Darling:

We have just received your package. The whole family is happy because this month we will have a little more rice to eat. For the last two months we have been eating rice mixed with potatoes or sometimes, just plain potatoes which we grow in our backyard. A determined amount of potatoes from our backyard has to be submitted to the Cooperative. The rest would last us for a few weeks. Some of the potatoes were ruined because I was unable to buy fertilizers and insecticides. Nevertheless, we are lucky to have potatoes to eat; otherwise we will have to eat oats distributed by the Party and the State.

Our daughter Lieu and our son Trinh are still in school because they are still in their young age. As to our son Tung, he has to quit school because he has reached the age to be drafted.

As you know, you were a village chief under the old regime which is considered by the present government as a bad element. And yet they allow him to continue his education until today. This proves that the government is very tolerant. Please try your best to have our son join with you in the United States, otherwise, I am afraid that his future will not be very bright. I need the amount of money I wrote you last time.

At present, the Government is conducting a census survey of youth and divide them into categories. Youth from 17 to 35 years of age are divided into category A and category B. Youth whose families are poor or who belong to families of revoluntionaries would be in Category A and would do their military service in Cambodia. Belonging to Category B are youth whose families were connected with the old regime, and they would be sent as laborers to Russia. And I am sure that you know to which category our son would belong. I am very worried for him. Russia is so far away and so cold. If he has to go there to help the State pay the Russian government and people for the assistance they gave the State during the war against the U. S. imperialists, I really don't know when I would be able to see him again.

We all wish you good health. Please help our family. You said you had to work overtime. You must have been exhausted. I wish I could be with you so that I could take care of you. I don't know how much longer would destiny seperate us like this.

Please write me soon.

Love,

CAMP INMATES FORMER U.S. ALLIES

Ms. ANH. I would like to call your attention to the fact that those reeducation camp inmates were there because they were former allies of the United States, because they believe in democracy, and I think that would be very, very wrong for the United States not to do anything, and keep silent, and let those people be used as slave laborers in Siberia.

We have heard—I have heard from letters from home, hand-carried letters by people who left Vietnam through the orderly departure program, and they smuggled out letters. We have heard that—Vietnamese are now working in Siberia. Most of those probably, are from North Vietnam, but there are some from South Vietnam as well.

We also have heard that last year there was a refugee boat carrying 39 persons, and when they were at sea, as you know, on those leaky boats their boat was about to sink, when they were met by a Soviet ship. Of course, those refugees were scared to death, and they begged the Soviet ship not to take them back to Vietnam. So, finally they were taken to Vladivostok, which is a Russian port, and we heard that they eventually ended up in Siberia. Several months have passed, 4 or 5 months have passed before they were allowed to write home. When their relatives in Vietnam received the letter, they were already working there.

I do not have those letters that those people sent, but I am going to write home to try to see if we can secure some of those letters.

People in reeducation camps are now a headacne for the North Vietnamese Government, according to pro-Communist Vietnamese sources in Paris. Paris has a significant number of Vietnamese who are supporters of the Hanoi Government, or who were Communist Party members, pro-Communist Vietnamese in Paris. So when the news broke out, when the Economist Foreign Report reported about the sending of half a million Vietnamese workers to the Soviet Union, some of those Vietnamese, the pro-Hanoi people, contacted Hanoi, contacted their friends in high positions in Hanoi to inquire.

Because Vietnam is a small world and some of those people, even though they are pro-Communist, they have their own relatives in concentration camps, and, of course, they are concerned, and they wanted to know whether it was true. So, the answer that those persons—many of them, quite high-ranking, can reach into the policy-making circles in Hanoi—and the answer was that the residual people still in reeducation camps are a headache for the Government, because the human rights groups like Amnesty International, Joan Baez' Humanitas—they even mention Don Luce and all the people inquiring about that and ask why those people have been detained without trial for an infinite period of time.

It is a headache. It is a source of irritation. So the Government would like to take it out of the way, to dispose of those people. But how to do it? If the Government would give up those people, execute them, the Government would earn the bad reputation that is now being enjoyed by Mr. Pol Pot, of bloodbaths and barbarity, and the Vietnamese Government is very sensitive to its image abroad,

especially at a time when it is seeking diplomatic relations with the United States, and also aid.

So, Hanoi cannot use the method of eliminating, simply executing them or starving them to death. If they would release those, they fear that those released persons, because they are mostly officers of the former regime, they are afraid that those released prisoners will join the resistance, will spread antigovernment propaganda. Those are "impurities," according to the Communist government. They are subversive, they are dangerous, they do not belong to the socialist society. They cannot be molded into "socialist men." Cannot release them for fear they would be making trouble.

So, the best solution would be to exile them to Siberia, and then after that the North Vietnamese can take visiting reporters to visit the empty camps, and they can declare to the world that all those camps are closed. All those associated with the United States, all those reactionaries have been reformed, fully reeducated, and now have volunteered to go to work in the Soviet Union.

They can show visitors the empty camps as proof that they have closed those camps. Of course, they send only the young people, those whose health still permits them to work in the Soviet Union. But for the older people or those too sick to work, they probably would move them to some very isolated camps where nobody can see them. At least they can show visitors the most famous camps. Those will be empty.

VIETNAM SEEKING U.S. AID

So that is the main purpose for sending reeducation camp labor to Siberia. And may I suggest that, as everyone knows Vietnam is seeking U.S. relations and aid, and also a lifting of the trade ban so that it can import critically needed spare parts, and also so that it can attract U.S. investment, investment of captial and technology. There are many reasons why Vietnam is seeking U.S. relations and aid.

So, may I suggest that the United States would tie the question of relations and aid to the concentration camp prisoners. Many of those reeducation camp inmates have relatives in the United States. Why not tie the orderly departure program—extend the orderly departure program of family reunification to include those in reeducation camps? Which would mean a family with a son or a husband still in a reeducation camp, if the family petitioned for the son and the son would be granted immigrant visa to the States. Then why would not the Hanoi government get rid of him by letting him go to join his family in the United States? Or to Canada, Australia, France, anywhere, so that the country would be rid of all those deemed "undesirables" and at the same time, the government doesn't have to kill them or release them into the country?

So, may I suggest that the government consider such a step in order that at least the United States will show a continuing concern for those, as I mentioned to you, who are your worthy allies. So don't forget them, please, and show the world and all of your current SEA allies how you care about your former allies. Those have once staked their lives and liberties with you.

I don't have anybody in there, but I feel that you need to be told here about the fate of those, and I think it would be appalling if the United States kept silent on the subject, and let the U.S. technology be involved in the building of that gas pipeline, without first clearing up with the North Vietnamese Government regarding those concentration camp prisoners. Why not get rid of them by letting them go?

That is out of my statement, I did not read my statement, but probably my time is up.

Senator ARMSTRONG. The committee is very appreciative of your remarks this morning, and, as I mentioned earlier, the entirety of your written statement will be incorporated into the record of this proceeding for the benefit of all the members of this committee and others. I am going to urge that they study it very carefully.

After we have heard from the Ambassador, I have some questions which I would like to direct to you, both about what you have said and also the material that you have submitted in your written testimony.

Our final witness this morning is Ambassador Rurarz, who was the Polish Ambassador to Japan prior to his defection to the United States, prior to the imposition of martial law in Poland last December. The Ambassador is an internationally renowned economist. He holds an M.A., a Ph. D., and two postdoctoral degrees from the Central School for Planning and Statistics in Warsaw.

Prior to assuming his ambassadorial post, he served as economic adviser to the chief of the Polish Communist Party, as an economic adviser to the Ministry of Foreign Trade, as Poland's permanent representative to the general agreement on tariff and trade negotiations, and as the economic attaché, Polish Embassy here in Washington.

Mr. Ambassabor, we appreciate your presence here this morning, and we would like to have your statement in any form that you would care to present it to us.

STATEMENT OF ZDZISLAW RURARZ, FORMER POLISH AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN, BLADENSBURG, MD.

Mr. RURARZ. Thank you, Senator; honorable members of the committee. I have prepared a written statement to deliver this morning, but in view of the circumstances—especially after listening to the forceful statements by Mr. Makarenko and my Vietnamese friends, I decided to change my statement for an oral one in order to fit the circumstances.

When I was listening to Mr. Makarenko's accounting of the ordeals which the Soviet prisoners are going through and he himself did, I cannot help saying that I myself when traveling to Korea in the special Polish military unit to supervise the Armistice Agreement in 1953, I met the Soviet prisoners in Siberia, in the circumstances which I think I have to describe here, just to complement what Mr. Makarenko said.

By the way, that particular episode I'm also mentioning in my book which probably will appear here in the United States, and besides that particular episode stayed always in my memory and heavily influenced my final decision to defect.

TREATMENT OF RELEASED PRISONERS

I was the officer on duty—we were traveling by the special military train to Korea—and saw for the first time ever, released Soviet prisoners from the camps.

At that time, when I met them for the first time, I didn't realize whom they were—and I had some problems with them. But the telephone on my wagon rang up and I was called to the special car where the Polish commander of this extraterritorial train was and the Soviet liaison officer, Lt. Col. Merkulov—I don't know whether he was a brother of General Merkulov who was chief of the concentration camps in Siberia at that time, or not.

Nevertheless, he asked me whom the people I met were. "You had some troubles?" "Yes," I replied, I had. "Who were they?" I said, "I don't know."

And he answered, explained to me in Russian, "Lesoruby" woodcutters. But afterward, it was already evening, the train was in motion, and two of those "Lesoruby" or woodcutters, were found in the toilet of the sleeping car where the staff of the train was.

Some of my colleagues didn't know how to react. Then Merkulov showed up, quietly opened the door and shouted, "Prigai" which means jump.

The train was in motion. They were hesitating; then the gun showed up in his hand and they without hesitation jumped out of the train and he quietly shut the door. I was very shocked and all of my colleagues—the officers of the Polish army.

Now in Poland we have a "state of war," Senator, and distinguished members of this committee. The "state of war" which was instigated by the U.S.S.R. I can easily imagine that if that "state of war continues"—or another sort of oppression—we may be very soon beginning those times when again the millions of people—as Mr. Makarenko said, that even now they already are, may be again in the camps, and their treatment may be again like that—a total disregard of the human beings.

Now, thanks to the imposition of economic sanctions by President Reagan on December 29 of the last year following the imposition of the "state of war" in Poland, we are here in this committee.

I must say, honorable chairman and distinguished members of the committee, that I would be wholeheartedly supporting this gas deal if I knew that Russia is democratic, free—that communism is changing, and that sooner or later those nations living under communism, under Soviet domination, would go free.

Mankind—Western Europe in particular, they need vast Russian riches. They need vast Russian markets. They need the human and scientific potential of Russia—that's true.

It would be very easy to prove how much that that deal could be advantageous to everyone. I am not disputing the commercial aspects of the deal. But what I am disputing is that at the time when communism and the U.S.S.R. are in agony, when they start falling apart, they still value guns over butter, they still opt for oppression and repression. And in such circumstances, no commercial aspects should be dictating the policy of the free nations.

This would be immoral. The ideals of freedom, the principles of democracy, are indivisible. Those who have them should not be monopolizing them.

We, like Mr. Makarenko and his compatriots, like me and some other captive nations, we want also to be free. And we demand you to react very strongly in supporting us in our demand to be free, because if we are not free, one day we will be jumping on you—I mean, those communized and Sovietized nations.

And now, let me continue: I am really not happy with the fact that the United States is providing the U.S.S.R. with grains. I am not, but at the same time—I am an economist, I see the difference between grain sales and a gas pipeline.

It is the difference to sell to the Soviets grain on a cash basis because after all this is for the purpose of consumption. Then the Soviets are diverting the means from some other objectives sinister to the free world.

But there is a difference if some of the free nations are itching to provide the Soviets with the extra money which could be used not only to buy the grains, but to build up the Soviet war machine.

I know all these commercial, technological, and so-on aspects now under discussion when it comes to the gas deal. But, Senator, who has calculated how much more the United States and other free nations will be spending in the future for defense if the Soviets will get that extra money by exporting gas to Western Europe? What if they will be getting some extra $10-12 billion a year, what would be the effect of that on your own defense spending, on Western European spending?

Who has calculated all that? I can understand all the argumentation behind it. I understand very well Caterpillar and those people back in Peoria, but they also should understand the above.

The United States in the past was supporting trade with the U.S.S.R.—Eximbank was established in 1934 to finance the exports to the U.S.S.R.—you didn't make any big business on that did you? You were helping the U.S.S.R. during the wartime with lend-lease. Where is their gratitude for all that?

You lost almost 100,000 soldiers fighting Communists in Korea and Vietnam and how many more may you lose 1 day if you continue along those lines that you always are helping them? And they used that help to oppress their own people and us.

SOVIET EMPIRE IS IN AGONY

I was that man who was on the other side of the fence, and I can tell you with all the authority, communism and the Soviet Empire are in agony; and it would be immoral to extend a helping hand to those who are only showing the biting teeth instead.

I was greatly encouraged when President Mitterand following the imposition of state of law in Poland stated, as it was quoted by Le Monde of January 2—and let me quote in French: "Tout gui permettra de sortir de Yalta serabon."

Which in English means: "Everything that would help to quit Yalta would be good."

I was greatly encouraged. France was not a party to a most shameful act of political diplomacy, as Yalta certainly is. And I

was greatly encouraged that again France is raising the voice against injustice concerning this historical error.

But I am greatly discouraged if only a couple of weeks later the deeds do not follow the words. I know what Alsthom Atlantic can do if the United States sticks to the commitment not to lift the sanctions.

But I appeal to your conscience. You are spending more than $120 billion to defend the other nations whose combined GNP is even bigger than the one of the U.S.S.R., and they are not in any position of defending themselves. And they are waiting for the American shield.

Well, if there's any logic in all of that, I say, it is only also in your interest, not only in the Polish interest, because I would be ready to capitulate and to say that if it is only the Polish aspect of the whole gas deal, well, we could forget that—we have been forgotten that many times, I mean, the Poles, that once again we can be forgotten. I am not asking for anything.

But it is in your own interest of other free nations not to capitulate before the Soviets! They don't have any other way out from their economic dilemmas than to rely on their national resources, slave labor, and unfortunately, the credits and technology of the West.

They can arrest the people, they can rape Mother Earth, but they shouldn't be raping you, the free nations! This is something which I think all should remember. Otherwise, I don't know really—it was cynical Lenin who said that the capitalists would sell the rope with which they would be hung.

But at the time when he was saying that the free nations were not understanding communism, were not understanding the U.S.S.R., at least not as much as they should. But now after 65 years, I think they should know! The lesson should be finally learned, and what is this lesson?

STATE OF WAR DECLARED AGAINST COMMUNIST CONSTITUTION

In Poland, a "state of war" is declared against even the Communist constitution, because the Communist constitution in Poland provides in Article 31 that the "state of war" can be declared only against external aggressors. And the Polish nation happens to be the external aggressor?

Yes, certainly! For the Polish Nation is against the Soviet interests in Poland!

Moreover, it is said in the Constitution that the "state of war" can be declared only by the Parliament in session. The Parliament was in session and did know absolutely nothing, it endorsed the "state of war," only a couple of weeks afterwards. So it was a classical coup d'etat by the Soviet agents in the Polish uniforms.

I was trying throughout my belonging to the Communist movement in Poland to make Poland a livable place—to reform that communism. I finally came, too late maybe, to the conclusion that they are not reformable.

Certainly, we the Poles will be continuing our fight. The forms of that fight will be changing depending upon the situation.

Certainly, no matter what will be done by the free nations, we will continue our fight. But at least we ask you at that time when we continue our fight, please, don't feed that Soviet might which is oppressing us!

It is your moral duty. Once because of Poland, it was the Second World War. We don't need any new war, really. As a matter of fact, the Poles want to settle the crisis in Poland without an armed struggle, which probably sooner or later will come anyway.

But at the same time, if we are unable to shrug off this military treacherous junta, it is only because we know too well that if the junta would go to pieces, and this could be a matter of hours, then the Soviet intervention would move in.

So everything—what is increasing the Soviet might is anti-Polish, and since the Poles want only freedom and democracy, so everything that is helping the Soviet might to be built up is hostile to freedom and democracy.

I thank you very much.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Mr. Ambassador. [Applause.]

The audience has expressed, I think, the response of the committee as well. We are greatful to you for your observations and for your stirring remarks. I have a number of questions that I intend to put to the witnesses, but I'll be glad to yield to——

Senator KASTEN. Go ahead.

USE OF CONSCRIPT LABOR

Senator ARMSTRONG. Let me begin with some questions for Mr. Makarenko. Focusing on the question of the pipeline itself, which is the specific legislative focus of this hearing, in your opinion, would it be possible for the Soviet Government to build that pipeline without using conscript labor?

Mr. MAKARENKO [translated]. Gentlemen, that is impossible. You see, the way they are building the Baikal-Amur Road, and there you find the latest technology and this is the way it is being built.

[Mr. Makarenko points to photographs of the constuction site which show the most primitive forms of labor.]

Senator ARMSTRONG. For the record, let me identify for the record that that Baikal-Amur is a railroad; is that correct?

Mr. MAKARENKO. Yes. It's a strategic railroad parallel to the entire border of China. People are working in a temperature 50 degrees below zero without any safety on higher elevations, on walls, and so on. And of course, the Soviet Union will be able to construct this pipeline if it is given the money by the Western countries and the necessary—will be able to buy the necessary factories and equipment from the West. Without moneys from the West, the Soviet Union would have fallen on its knees a long time ago. These workers who keep fleeing from the conditions they work in, they would have deprived the regime of bread and meat and everything else a long time ago if there were no assistance from the West. But as soon as they do that, Western countries come in and help feed communism in the Soviet Union and a moral problem arises in this connection.

The political, ideological, and national movements in the Soviet Union are posing a question: How come the West is on the side of

the Communist regime? Why is the West against us? The majority are us. Why aren't we treated, for example, like the countries of black Africa or anyone else?

It is obvious to everyone that a small group of Communists armed to their teeth are holding in their claws millions and millions of people. All these decades in the Soviet Union we see civil war taking place, and most of these people believe that the West has only three alternatives, three possibilities: to join us, step on to our side and fight the Communists. But we understand that the West is weak. It has its own problems and it can maintain a neutral position in this war. It would be a moral position as well. And there is a third possibility; namely, to side with the minority, namely, the Communists, and to support their activity in annihilation of people in the entire world. Without the help of the West the Communists would not have enough boots for their armies even.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Mr. Makarenko, for the record, I want to establish whether or not the information and opinions you have given us are based upon firsthand observation? You have mentioned that inmates of these camps have died in construction projects similar to that of the Yamal pipeline. My question, so that we are clear that we're talking about—the question I wish to ask you, Mr. Makarenko, so that we're clear we're not talking about something that you have read or has come to you second hand, is whether or not you have actually known people in your own contacts in prison camps who perished while participating in construction projects of this kind?

DEATHS AMONG CONSCRIPT LABORERS

Mr. MAKARENKO. From the very first day in the camp I saw people falling dead due to the extremely difficult work and difficult conditions. I, myself, helped to carry these people to the sanitary section when they were still barely breathing. That, in a political camp, we didn't even have stretchers, and the physician had simply nothing, nothing other than a pair of rubber gloves which he wore, and he would hold up his hands and not do anything but wait for the person to die.

Senator ARMSTRONG. I want to pursue this line of questioning. I also have a number of other questions, but again, I must reluctantly suspend the hearing for about 10 minutes while we go to vote, and we'll return at that time.

[Recess.]

Senator ARMSTRONG. The committee will return to order, and again my apologies for being required to disrupt our proceedings. That's just a fact of life and the way we do business here.

Mr. Makarenko, I would like to return to the point where we left off, and specifically to the question about deaths among conscript laborers. You mentioned that this was not a secondhand report that you were giving us; that from your first day in the prison camps you had been aware of and had personally witnessed such deaths. Could you tell us in your years of imprisonment in the Soviet camps about how many such deaths you are personally aware of from firsthand knowledge?

Mr. MAKARENKO. About 10 people died in my camps and prisons, not because they were sick or old, but simply because they could not tolerate the work and the conditions to which they were subjected: hunger and cold. And in addition to those 10, I could speak of many people who were close to death.

For example, a case when the man is bleeding from his throat, and he is being forced not only to work; he is being forced to fulfill 100 percent norm, which is possible for a person in free conditions with normal diet. And if he fulfills only 90 or 92 percent of the work norm, he is placed into an isolation cell for objecting to work or for nonfulfilling the norm. That took place—I saw this in the case of Jacob Suslensky and Evgeniy Sverstyuk, a great Ukranian writer and Milikyan.

Many times I was striking by declaring a hunger strike and requesting that the sick would not be forced to work. For example, Mr. Milikyan, at the age of 25 or 26, they literally physically dragged him out, forced to work, even though in spite of the fact that he should have been subjected to a very complicated surgery. The Soviet State does not take into account either the health or life of its citizens, especially those for whom it doesn't really care.

It's not only a matter of having Milikyan or Sverstyuk to fulfill 100 percent of their quota, because if you don't torture him with labor he cannot carry out or fulfill, he will live for a long time. There is a possibility that he may even survive and return to his friends and his family and actually tell about what he experienced. And there is a new need to repress him. Therefore, the idea is to annihilate as soon as possible but to extract as much as possible for a short period of time. This is the basic principle of the system.

NUMBER OF PRISONERS AND DEATH RATE

Senator ARMSTRONG. I have two closing questions, or one question in two parts. Based upon your own personal experiences, your study of the Soviet prison camps and the information available to you, could you give us your best estimate of the number of persons presently held in these camps and the number of persons who may have died in these camps over the years?

Mr. MAKARENKO. It is very difficult in a moment, but you see here, there is a fragment of witness, physician, camp physician, who gave his statement, witness, and he said that the death rate in the camps is so high that it is difficult to believe. His statement was that out of 30 people, all of these 30 would perish within a period of 8 or 8½ months. That was a physician of the Ministry of Internal Affairs who was there supervising the segment of BAM, namely, Baikal-Amur Railroad.

There were 200,000 prisoners in that particular camp. In comparison with the Great Terror years, namely the 1930's under Stalin, as they were called. This what we are having there now is much, much more terrible. Out of 1 million, 250,000 people perished on the White Sea Canal in 1 year. This has been described in literature and in history as incredible inhumanity. In the camps in the 1930's the death rate was 250 people per 1,000 per annum. In this Baikal-Amur Railroad, right now while we're talking here, 1,000 people perish within a period of 8 months. That is less than 1

year, even. The death rate in official publications in the Russian language is about seven to eight times higher than during the Stalin terror period.

It would be difficult to believe this if there were no official Soviet data for the last decade which I am right here presenting to you gentlemen. Official Soviet statistics provide data which even surprised Western demographers. Every year there are 500,000 to 600,000 men, more than it is assumed to be possible, dying in that country in those circumstances, and all the demography specialists are shrugging their shoulders and are not able to explain this, and it is a very simple answer, the Soviet regime is collapsing.

It is not only the fact that they have no money to buy electronics for military needs, but they don't even have enough means to support spies in your country because the entire Soviet State does not want to work for this regime. And all this regime can do is extract from the earth, Mother Earth, that which was given by the good Lord, and sell it as quickly as possible. And this regime will exist as long as there are those who buy it, and even provide credit and low interest rates, and without much hope of any being repaid.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you, Mr. Makarenko. We are indebted to you for your response and we are grateful for the material which you have supplied to the committee.

VIETNAMESE 5-YEAR WORK PLAN

Mr. Toai, in your statement, in your presentation to the committee, you refer at some length to the Vietnamese who are expected to work in the U.S.S.R. and in East European countries, and you mention estimates of some 500,000 Vietnamese who are expected to work in these areas, that is, in Russia and East European countries during the second Vietnamese 5-year plan from 1981 to 1985.

My question is this: To what extent are these 500,000 workers in Russia and the Eastern bloc countries on voluntary terms? In other words, could you elaborate on this? I don't want, as I report this to my colleagues, to overstate the case. Are these really conscripts or are some of them in Russia on voluntary conditions?

Mr. TOAI. I thank you, Mr. Chairman. In fact, it is very difficult for us in the West to have an exact number of the slave labor who were sent to the Soviet Union, and the number 500,000, that is in London Economist's magazine on September 17 of last year. But an article I have here of the Minister of Labor of Vietnam, he conceded that the Soviet Union has received many hundred of thousands of Vietnamese workers, students, researchers, come to the Soviet Union. So I think the number of many hundred thousands, I think is really accurate, because the Labor Minister conceded that number. And according to the information I have collected through the Vietnamese community, through my friends remaining in Vietnam, I do know that none of them volunteered to go. And in the West, some journalists argue that maybe the people want to go to the Soviet Union, because they hope for a better life there. But you known, in the history of Vietnam, in 1945, there was a famine killing 2 million people of starvation, but no one wanted to escape Vietnam, wanted to leave the country.

So I don't think any Vietnamese who want to leave Vietnam to work in the Soviet Union in order to get a better life. But you known Mr. Makarenko recently described about the life in the prison in Siberia there, and in Vietnam we are afraid of that because we suffer in the reeducation camps and outside of the camps. No food to eat and the government is very oppressive of the people. So how can the Vietnamese people hope that to have a better life in the Soviet Union?

Senator ARMSTRONG. I want to be clear. We're talking about primarily or entirely men. We're not talking about families going to the Soviet Union?

Mr. TOAI. Yes.

Senator ARMSTRONG. In other words, they're separated from their families at the time that they are sent from Vietnam to Russia, for a period of several years at a time?

Mr. TOAI. Yes. The Labor Minister, Dao thin Thie wrote in his article, he said the program of labor cooperation is extended from 5 to 6 years. And I received a letter of those who were—of the relatives of those who were sent to the Soviet Union. They say that the workers, the Vietnamese worker, have not been allowed to contact with—outside of the Soviet Union with their relatives.

Senator ARMSTRONG. That was exactly the question I was going to ask next. Have any of the Vietnamese with whom you have been in contact received letters or other information from their family members who have been sent to the Soviet Union?

Mr. TOAI. We receive only the letter of the relative of the people who are sent to the Soviet Union. We never receive any information of those who were sent to the Soviet Union.

Senator ARMSTRONG. No mail comes out of the Soviet Union?

Mr. TOAI. Of course, no mail.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you very much, Mr. Toai.

VIETNAMESE WORKERS SENT TO FRANCE

Ms. Anh, you also commented on these same issues. I recall in your written statement that you compared the present program of sending Vietnamese workers to the Soviet Union to the practice of the French Colonial Administration during World War II. What was the scope of that? I don't have any recollection of the numbers involved or the kind of treatment that Vietnamese workers received when they were sent to fight in the French-German War and work in French factories. Could you elaborate on that a bit? How do the two programs compare? That is, what's going on now in Vietnam with workers going to Russia and the movement of Vietnamese people to France during World War II?

Ms. ANH. Yes, during World War II in my village there were several young men who were conscripted to go to France, and they were called, LINH THO—that is soldier and factory worker, at the same time. I do not know the numbers, Senator, because I saw them in the village, and they were conscripted to be sent to France to fight in the Second World War, whether they have been sent in Germany to fight Germany or to defend France against the Germans. I think some of them who were conscripted for World War I have been to Germany, because there was one who returned home

in my village. Eventually, when the French came back and tried to reoccupy Vietnam, he has planted some flowers in his front yard with German words in them and when German soldiers in the French Foreign Legion came and saw that, and they didn't burn his house. So I know he has been fighting in Germany, because he has learned a few German words.

The number I do not know.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Did they receive wages in francs——

Ms. ANH. Yes.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Comparable to what the French workers were receiving in the same job?

Ms. ANH. That is correct.

Senator ARMSTRONG. And did they—at a later time did they then some of them achieve citizenship in France?

Ms. ANH. That is correct, sir.

Senator ARMSTRONG. And became French subjects?

Ms. ANH. And many of them still remain in France, and they have villages, and their children are now, second generation of Frenchmen. Of course, they did not volunteer, they were conscripted, yes. But I have seen them in France, and I think that they just like to be assimilated to the French population they are happy. After the war a number of them were repatriated, but a number of them chose to remain in France.

Also, as you know, all the colonial powers they use the same tactics. They use subjects, conscripts from one colony to try to keep order in the other colonies, and the French did the same. They use some of the Vietnamese conscripts to keep order in their African colonies, and they use Africans to fight in Vietnam to try to reestablish colonial rule in Vietnam. The same thing. But compared to the current workers, I believe those who have been sent by the French were better off, because they received their pay in full. They live just like the French, other French people, and I think what they—well, they may not like exile, at first but some of them seem quite happy to be there.

As for the guest workers under the new program to go to the Soviet Union, we understand they live in segregated quarters, and they were being shipped to the Soviet Union together with their jailers, I should say, together with the cadremen, and the cadremen are providing the same kind of indoctrination and control that they had in Vietnam. Of course, they have to do that. Workers live in concentration camp settings and enjoy no freedom whatsoever. Their countrymen are providing the same kind of control, the same kind of life they would have in North Vietnam's concentration camp, except now they are working in the Soviet Union instead of North Vietnam. In Vietnamese concentration camps, there is not much work to be done. They're just cutting wood and clearing land and planting crops.

But in the Soviet Union, their work is really needed there. It is 100 percent slave labor. There is no other way to describe it.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Thank you very much.

Mr. Ambassador, you are both a diplomat and an economist, and I want to ask you to comment from both of those perspectives about the Yamal pipeline. My question is this: In your opinion, can that pipeline be built without Western technology and credit?

Mr. RURARZ. Well, my understanding is that probably the Soviets might complete that gas pipeline with their own means; however, that completion would be very, very much behind schedule. It is even possible that maybe not in this decade, or at least if that would be done, then certainly they would have a lot of operational problems, due to the turbines and the other equipment. So that without the Western technology, I don't think that this could be fully operational, not talking about the time lag. And may I say that the Soviets are terribly in need of money. Very soon, right now, even. We should not forget that this Soviet Union which is only the second world economic potential to the United States, that the Soviet exports of manufactures is in fact smaller than that of Switzerland. They are not capable of turning out any products which would be the hit on the world market. Even their military hardware is in poor quality.

The only thing they have is Mother Earth. More than 60 percent of their hard currency earnings are provided by the exports of petroleum. The rest is done by gold, asbestos, timber, and other raw materials, and the natural gas. But the production of oil is stagnating. There are problems with the production of gold, because this was mainly provided by the slave labor. So that now the next is the natural gas. If they don't get that oil on time, I think they will not overcome the economic difficulties. They need $10 billion a year only to import food, and that $10 billion could be provided by the natural gas and for some other their exports earnings they could be supplying their war industry with the goods they need.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Let me then pursue the question again, to focus directly on the pipeline. If Western technology and credit is necessary for the scheduled completion of the pipeline, let me ask about the use of conscript labor. In your opinion, can the pipeline be built by the Soviet Union without the use of conscript labor?

Mr. RURARZ. I don't think so, because this a highly labor-intensive problem. I know from the Polish experience, because the Poles have been building the gas pipeline in the U.S.S.R., not that one under construction, but the other one. And they were telling that there's a lot of, let's say, auxiliary activities, that is where you have to clear the terrain for the gas pipeline, and so on and so forth. The Poles were not doing that because they were the specialists. So this was done by the Russians. As far as they were figuring out, although they didn't have the direct contact with them, this was mostly done by the prisoners.

EAST-WEST RELATIONSHIP

Senator ARMSTRONG. I'd like to ask you to reflect upon the broader context the East-West relationship for a moment. Has the increased East-West trade over the last few years caused a relaxation of the repression in Eastern Europe? One of the arguments that is often made is that the Eastern bloc countries and the Soviet Union are relaxing their own internal policies, and that East-West trade promotes that process. Based on your experience, is this true?

Mr. RURARZ. Well, the answer could be very much qualified. There is some patchiness in the general picture of the situation. Certainly, in Poland, the situation was different, but not in Czecho-

slovakia. The situation in Hungary was also different. Not in the U.S.S.R. as Mr. Makarenko is saying, and not in Eastern Germany. So, that this is a very blurred picture. In Poland, definitely, the contacts with the West were contributing positively to the relaxation of persecution and so on. Besides, in Poland, it was never as big as in the U.S.S.R. but this is not entirely true about the other Eastern Bloc nations. And besides, all of that has led, finally, to what we have in Poland. Probably the Soviets would never, never be daring to do anything as they did in Poland, if they would have been not, how do you say, strengthened by that détente, that is the credits from the West, and so on. They were quite simply feeling too strong in the 1970's during the so-called "détente era." They have become a global power. And they are less afraid of the West than they were in the past.

So that this was also this negative effect of the détente we should all remember.

Senator ARMSTRONG. May I ask you to comment on what might happen to the economies of Poland and of other Soviet satellites, if further Western credit were not extended to these countries.

Mr. RURARZ. They would collapse altogether. One would have to take into account the $80 billion, received by Eastern economies and they still have not produced very much. These economies are stagnating. May I say prior to the events in Poland, the GNP's fell in 1979 by 2½ percent, and afterward this has continued, and so on. Right now the situation is this: Poland apart, because this is a specific problem, that the Eastern economies in order not only to grow, but to stagnate, according to my very preliminary estimates, they would need something like $15 to $20 billion a year in credit, and even in grants, just to be stagnating or having very, very modest growth. Without all that, there could be a chain reaction. The multiplying effects could be disastrous. It is even impossible to know exactly what the consequences would be, because quite simply when the difficulties would start, they would be triggering off the chain reaction which would definitely paralyze completely their economies. Not talking about starvation, because this is probably the most acute problem, starvation, quite simply. We should not forget the Eastern countries are the net importer of food, which was not true in the past.

Senator ARMSTRONG. Mr. Ambassador, I'm grateful to you for your observations and your presence here this morning. We live in such an affluent country, a country where we take our safety so much for granted, that it is very, very difficult for Americans to comprehend and appreciate the impact of the conditions that our witnesses this morning have testified about with respect to the violence, the deprivation, the disregard for human rights and for the other matters which have been presented to this committee this morning.

It's very, very difficult for us to really comprehend and to appreciate the seriousness of the plight which millions and literally hundreds of millions of people throughout the world confront on a daily basis. You have done us a great service by making this presentation this morning. It is my expectation that the testimony which has been presented here will have an impact far beyond this room or far beyond even the Nation's Capital.

Prior to today's hearing, in fact, only yesterday, I wrote a letter to the President of the United States urging him not to permit the export of U.S. technology in support of the Yamal pipeline. It has been my view that there are very strong strategic reasons, unrelated to the subject of this hearing this morning, but literally just national defense reasons, and the interests of the United States, of its Western allies, why it would be most unwise for us to permit that.

Based upon the information which we have received this morning, I intend to contact the President again and to make available to him and his advisers the full extent of the material that's been presented here, because it does seem to me that an eloquent and very compelling case has been made, aside from national security reasons, which I have already brought to his attention, that there are also some great reasons of national conscience why this Nation must not be an accomplice in the construction of this pipeline and in the process, to the violation of the rights of tens and scores and possibly hundreds of thousands of people.

In addition, it will be my intention, along with Senator Garn on Monday or at the earliest possible date, to seek a sense of the Senate resolution, in which my colleagues will be asked to vote on this question and to give their advice to the President in the exercise of his responsibility under the statute. It is my hope and expectation that we can bring this to a vote in the Senate next week, and I intend to do so.

Finally, in the long run, I might explain to the witnesses that we are going to have before us within a reasonable period of time legislation relating to trade reciprocity, and it will be my purpose to present as an amendment to that legislation, some requirements arising out of the testimony that's been presented this morning. That is, to require our Government to take into account the human rights issues whenever they consider export licensing and the trade relationship between our country and other nations of the world.

So this has been a very useful and productive session. I'm extremely grateful to the witnesses, and also, may I say I'm very grateful to Mrs. Rosniansky. I hope I have pronounced your name correctly. Your help this morning has been invaluable, and I compliment you for the wonderful job.

Dr. ROSNIANSKY. Thank you, sir. Mr. Makarenko is asking to say another word.

Senator ARMSTRONG. I noted he wanted to be recognized again. Of course, I'd be very pleased to do so. Mr. Makarenko?

Mr. MAKARENKO. I beg your pardon, sir. I only want to say two sentences. I want to say that the Russian people are the only helper of the United States in fighting communism. The Russian people right now are fighting in the main front lines. I apologize for asking for the floor.

Senator ARMSTRONG. I'm grateful to you for your closing observations. I'm grateful to all the witnesses. And I will remind those who have not had an opportunity to do so, that in a very few minutes, at 12:30, that the film which Mr. Makarenko produced in the Soviet Union will be available in the Senate Recording Studio for viewing.

With that word of thanks to all concerned, this hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the hearing was adjourned.]

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